

Review of INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ALEXANDAR PAPAGOS

AN AFFIRMATION OF FRIENDSHIP

VELJKO VLAHOVIĆ

COOPERATION BETWEEN SOCIALIST FORCES

HANS TYRING

FROM FARADAY TO CURIE AND AFTER

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CONSISTENCY OF YUGOSLAV FOREIGN POLICY

by Srđo PRICA

STATE UNDER-SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

THE formulation of the principles of a foreign policy, like all other formulations, can occasionally seem, and often become, mere phraseology deprived of any meaning, like the ritual formulas and symbols of a faith that are constantly repeated but seldom adhered to in actual life. Although it would be wrong to depend solely on such a formulation in appraising the real policy of a country, it would be equally wrong to consider it to be without any value at all. For it can, and often does, reflect, in one way or another, the strivings and principles of a country's policy.

The consistency and principled character of a foreign policy can best be tested at times when changes in that policy are inevitable and most marked, i. e. when important changes in international life take place. Then such a policy can be examined very accurately, although at such a time it creates a great deal of confusion among people who are in the habit of considering only superficial, outward and formal changes and so are unable to understand the relation between the changes that take place and the prevailing situation, or to see that a lack of changes in a country's policy in so changed a situation would mean that the entire policy of that country was being changed.

Yugoslavia's foreign policy has proved its consistency and principled character at the time when changes occurred in the international situation.

In this regard, let us mention only two fundamental principles of our foreign policy: independence and equal relations between nations — which, broadly speaking, are only two different aspects of the same principle. These two principles have been the basis of our conflict with the Soviet Union in 1948, and they are now the basis of our policy of active coexistence.

Our relations with other countries have been changing and going through different phases, precisely because the fundamental principles of our foreign policy have remained unchanged. Here, it must be remembered that other countries, too, have been modifying their foreign policy and adapting it to changes in the situation, which, under certain circumstances, were to a large extent the results of our own struggle for independence and of our application of the said principles in practice. In the past our endeavours to preserve independence were supported by some countries and opposed by others — as it was, or seemed to be suited to the policy of these countries in the conditions created by the cold war and the existence of blocs.

Unfortunately, Yugoslavia's struggle for independence has often been considered as part of the strategic plan of the struggle between the opposing blocs. Consequently, some people supported, and still support, these of our foreign political steps which are the expression of our country's independent policy in one direction, but consider with doubt and concern the steps we take, and which are also the expression of that same policy, in another direction.

This may explain why, in spite of clear and indisputable facts, some politicians in the West „fear” that Yugoslavia's policy is taking the „opposite” direction, that it is repudiating its friendly relations with the countries with which it cooperates, i. e., that Yugoslavia is turning towards the other bloc, as those who are accustomed to think in terms of bloc politics would say.

If, however, the situation in which the world finds itself is understood correctly, and if the principles of our foreign policy, together with the concrete decisions through which Yugoslavia has affirmed herself as an important international factor, were studied more thoroughly, it would become clear to all that such views are contrary to the essence of our foreign policy and to our practice, and, consequently, that they are wrong. It would be unrealistic and illogical for Yugoslavia, which is against the division of the world into blocs, to change her policy now that we are all convinced — and justly, too — that bloc politics in international relations must give way to the policy of understanding and coexistence.

On the basis of such a policy, and so as to secure and develop our independence and equal relations between nations, our endeavours can be directed, not towards the undermining of good relations, but towards a further expansion of these relations. One could say that such strengthening of already existing relations offers large possibilities to create and develop new relations on the basis of independence and equality — and that only normal and active relations with all countries can ensure the sound development of existing relations.

If there are some people who cannot understand this and so adhere to the old patterns and criteria in appraising the world situation, it is their own bad luck, because the world pays no attention to any patterns, but progresses in accordance with its own laws of development.

Some of the latest developments in the foreign political field must be viewed in this light. It is positive for the cause of peace that today, when the tension between the blocs is lessening, countries can affirm their policies much more easily than at the time of the cold war. At present the blocs appear as an anachronism — in the minds of men, at least — so that those who do not wish to give them up cannot advocate them openly.

Important changes are taking place in the world — changes which are the results of a long process the character and tendencies of which cannot always be easily determined before the consequences become apparent, and it is in the ability to determine the tendencies of this process that the value of a foreign policy lies.

Our foreign policy, it seems to me, can be satisfied with the results it has been achieving in appraising the tendencies of international developments in the last ten years. It was perhaps due to our correct and timely appraisal of such tendencies that people, who consider temporary events as constant categories, were assessing our policy incorrectly and making wrong forecasts about our fate.

It has, for instance, been shown that, contrary to all predictions, the preservation of our independence immediately after the war was ensured through the success of our struggle for the strengthening of the people's government and against the attempts to re-establish the old social system. Similarly, contrary to all predictions about our inevitable failure, it is today recognized that we were justified in starting our struggle against the aggressive Stalinist onslaughts on our independence.

Our expectations about the easing of international tension, which came to expression in the Tito-Nehru declaration a year ago, were also correct: new possibilities have been created for the solving of international disputes by peaceful negotiations and cooperation, upon which our policy of active coexistence is based.

However, it is not enough merely to say that such possibilities have been created. It will be necessary to

work persistently for the consolidation and expansion of such possibilities, the more so since they were not created by chance, and since they would not last long without a constant struggle for their extension. Yugoslavia's role in the efforts to bring about these possibilities was not insignificant, and it will not be insignificant in the struggle for their expansion either.

The talks and conferences which were held in Belgrade in the first half of this year were only an expression of our endeavours to extend and consolidate our relations with all countries, and to contribute, as much as possible, to the strengthening of a policy based on the understanding and peaceful solving of disputes.

For it is only in a world of peace and understanding that we can definitely secure our independence and development, and such a world is, after all, the only alternative if we do not wish to head for a catastrophe.

GREEK-YUGOSLAV FRIENDSHIP

An Age-Old Tradition and Political Necessity

by PH. A. PHILON

ROYAL AMBASSADOR OF GREECE IN BELGRADE

IN relations between states the identity of political interests at a given time is often the reason why emphasis is laid on the traditional friendship of countries which in their past have long been at variance, and which most often settled their differences on the battlefield.

I consider that we can be proud of the friendship of Greece and Yugoslavia, because it is almost a unique exception from such formulas which are enthusiastic over momentary achievements and which tend to pay little attention to historical truth.

Really, almost unique is the example of these two neighbouring countries, which — during centuries of constant wars — have never fought one another, which in all the battles they fought found themselves in alliance, fighting for things their peoples considered to be in their mutual interest.

This mutual feeling of the two peoples, who are deeply aware of the close bonds between Greece and Yugoslavia, has inspired our political and military alliance — a continuation of the traditions of the two countries — which is a permanent achievement and a strong guarantee for the strengthening of peace and security in the Balkans.

Whenever this sincere and close cooperation was affected by temporary crises — which are so rare that they are soon forgotten — the peace and progress of the peoples of Greece and Yugoslavia suffered. But, thanks to their traditional friendship and joint interests, the two countries always overcame these difficulties and again found themselves on the traditional road of cooperation, which, uniting their efforts, makes them stronger and more successful. There is no need to speak of their centuries-long efforts to achieve independence and defend their freedom, for in the first half of this century there were several wars during which our two peoples showed so much courage and firmness that they were admired and respected by all. Although they always succeeded in beating the invaders, they were not able to evade the devastation which war always causes in the countries attacked. At present our two countries are engaged in the difficult task of reconstructing their lands and in removing the traces of the last war; they are endeavouring to develop their resources and get into the rhythm of contemporary economic life which will ensure them the same standard

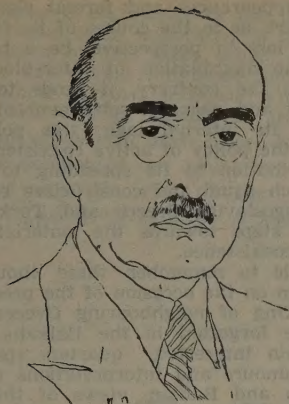
of living as enjoyed by other countries which have not suffered so much in the war.

To make their efforts as successful as possible, they had to create an atmosphere of mutual confidence and security among them. They had to join hands, pool their efforts and organize a permanent alliance. First of all they had to unite their military potential, so as to make it more effective, and to ensure guarantees for the security and independence of both countries. They also had to expand the field of their cooperation, as well as to increase mutual visits which contribute to better understanding.

It was on these foundations that the Bled Alliance was based. This alliance consecrated the friendly community between Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia which had earlier been formed in Ankara, and added to it a new, firmer and more concrete structure of a defensive alliance and political organization, which then set up joint organs and founded a Consultative Assembly, in which representatives of the three parliaments will discuss problems of common interest and submit useful recommendations to their governments.

If the work in the Balkan Secretariat has not yet produced outstanding results, this is due to the fact that it is necessary to proceed slowly at the beginning, to determine, often through empiric tests, the existing possibilities, paying attention to the economic structure of the three countries, and so reach conclusions which will serve as a basis for coordinated actions and enable us to strengthen the structure of the tripartite cooperation. It must not be forgotten that the spirit of confidence and mutual solidarity must permeate all the efforts of the three countries in order to ensure the success of the great action they have undertaken. Therefore, the sincere friendship of the three countries, to which the Bled Alliance gave a new incentive, must continue to develop towards an ever closer and more active community.

Owing to all this, no words can express the joy I feel in connection with the visit my Sovereigns will soon make to Yugoslavia. Returning the visit the Chief of the Yugoslav State made to Greece last year, they will, with their tour of Yugoslavia, again reaffirm the friendly sympathies of the Greek people towards the peoples of Yugoslavia, as well as their admiration for the work the courageous Yugoslav leaders are doing in developing their country and in strengthening peace.



AN AFFIRMATION OF FRIENDSHIP AND ALLIANCE

AT THE REQUEST OF THE „REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS” MARSHAL ALEXANDER PAPAGOS, PRESIDENT OF THE GREEK GOVERNMENT, MADE THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT IN CONNECTION WITH THE VISIT OF THE GREEK SOVEREIGNS IN YUGOSLAVIA:

THE visit paid to friendly Yugoslavia by their Majesties the Hellenic Sovereigns is a new and solemn manifestation of the close relations of friendship and alliance existing between the two countries. Common struggles and common aims have wrought indissoluble bonds between the peoples of Greece and Yugoslavia. In every critical period of our respective history we found ourselves united, for our common national aim was the defence of our freedom, the strengthening of peace and the struggle against tyranny. The collaboration established between Greece and Yugoslavia within the frame of the Bled Treaty aims at the

strengthening of international security and peace in accordance with the noble principles formulated in the United Nations Charter. We united in order to strengthen our common defensive efforts and to develop further in all sectors of our common action a constructive collaboration extremely useful for the future of our hard-working and progressive peoples. Faithful to her traditions, Greece is resolved, in close collaboration with Yugoslavia, to contribute by all possible means to the development of peaceful cooperation in the Balkans and to the creation of an international climate based on national independence and the respect of the rights of all countries.”

A Friendly Visit

by Josip DJERDJA

AMBASSADOR IN THE STATE SECRETARIAT FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

YUGOSLAVIA will shortly receive the visit of the King of neighbouring Greece, who will thus return the visit President Tito paid to Greece last year. It remains to be seen whether this occasion will have a practical significance and what it will be, but it may already be said with complete certainty that this visit will be an eloquent manifestation of the friendship and alliance which unite the two Balkan countries today more than ever before in the past.

The past of the two countries, and especially the development of their relations to date, is so instructive that it could rightly be considered an exceptional manifestation in international relations — a manifestation which could hardly fail to influence the formulation of practical conclusions with regard to the mutual relations between the two countries in the present and future. As usual in this world, there have been various differences of views and inequalities in the interpretation of interests on both sides, so that certain past periods have not always been marked by closer cooperation. But this is not what characterizes their past nor what makes them a specially interesting phenomenon. The fact is that at crucial moments, in the midst of decisive events, they found themselves side by side, regardless of what had divided them or could lead to their division, and regardless of the loose formal ties or even the non-existence of such ties between them. In all the serious crises, which befell Europe and the Balkans during the past decades, the two countries wrestled with the same difficulties, faced the same dangers and attacks on their independence and national existence and became allies on the basis of the profound logic of identical national interests.

But if the past revealed such an identity of basic interests, it showed also, unfortunately, another aspect — an

aspect of weakness, when the price of efforts and sacrifices made for survival in the face of attacks went up in the same proportion as their basic policy lost in harmony and all-round, long-term cooperation was delayed or became unsystematic. Occasionally and temporarily, this facilitated manoeuvres and schemes against Balkan peace and independence, which would not have happened, or would have happened to a much lesser extent, had the policy been formulated in keeping with lasting and basic interests.

These two elements of the common past or, to be more exact, the awareness of their existence, did not fail to exercise an influence on both countries during the creation of modern, political Balkan cooperation, expressed in a series of tripartite instruments during the last few years. It might even be said that these were and remained the factors which more lastingly condition the maintenance and advancement of present Balkan cooperation, while other factors, regardless of the acuteness with which they may have manifested themselves on definite occasions, always were and remained of a temporary and more or less secondary significance. If it were not so, and if such a sequence of causes and conditions were to be disturbed — a sequence which brought about the creation of modern Balkan policy, one might easily be led to wrong conclusions and moreover, to a situation in which this policy could be directed along a path on which we would meet anything but the desired ensurance of national rights and interests for the countries in this area, and this for a considerable length of time. And in this case, it would not be the question of a national policy likely to function even under changed conditions in the world and around the Balkans, but only of one of numerous temporary combinations which disappear at the first changes around the

respective countries and the moment any regrouping in the world forces takes place. As regards the populations of these countries, one could not find a single example pointing to the existence of such views and interpretations in respect of contemporary Balkan policy either at the time of its creation or in the course of its development, while it is well-known that just such an interpretation of this policy was accepted among us as constituting its most valuable element, that element by virtue of which it should not only remain a notable phenomenon, but also prove decisive in the history of intra-Balkan relations both in the present and future.

Such conclusions are bound to be reached when the present question is viewed in the light of problems of interest to a whole region, for which a regional formula has been sought and found with a view to safeguarding common interests. But both Greece and Yugoslavia, and, for that matter, Balkans as a whole, are part of the greater European whole, not only geographically, historically or in any other sense, but in a palpable material respect, according to which the basic European problems are also their own problems, in view of which they probably, even inevitably, share the fate of the wider European community. In other words, the two countries may have, as it actually happens, ties and relations throughout the world with countries on various continents, and under present conditions it would be unnatural and harmful if it were otherwise. But the inner European framework is the one in which they primarily and mostly live and carry on their activities, and the European relations, problems and solutions are of vital significance and decisive influence.

Such being the case, nobody wished to separate contemporary Balkan policy from its wider organic whole nor could succeed in this and it was always considered as its component part, as a contribution and element of an inevitable policy of European consolidation, which should aspire to the same aims. Such Balkan policy, re-

gardless of all the appearances and formal elements, could, neither at its start, or in the course of its further development, and still less in perspective, be a bloc policy and contribute to the aggravation of inter-bloc disputes and antagonisms; on the contrary, it tends to the mitigation, appeasement and peaceful settlement of disputes. Similarly, thanks to its internal logic, this policy could not be a negation of the policy of active coexistence among nations, but a contribution to its spreading to all parts of the world, in which equal and constructive cooperation between socialist Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey recorded one of its first steps towards the materialization of the policy of active coexistence.

It is worth while to remember these thoughts and views and renew them on the occasion of the present significant visit of the King of neighbouring Greece, not because they might be forgotten in the Balkans, but primarily because certain interested quarters spread from time to time such rumours and interpretations as sharply differ from our own and Balkan views of this matter. Even in the Balkans themselves one can cite examples which show that all people are not always clear as to the basic significance and role of this policy in the present world — people who would be prepared, for the sake of certain momentary and chiefly apparent benefits or combinations of uncertain value, to forget what is lasting, basic and historically sound in the modern policy of Balkan cooperation, which for this very reason is significant for the Balkans and for the rest of the world. This visit of our noble neighbours will provide a particularly happy occasion for a manifestation of the strength, durability and constructiveness of this common policy, which, in the form of tripartite cooperation in all fields, is capable of retaining both in the Balkans and in Europe, the positions of national interests and international responsibility by serving peace and extending a friendly hand to all those who wish for such cooperation and accept it on this basis.

An Example of Constructive Cooperation

by Miša PAVIČEVIĆ

AMBASSADOR OF THE FPY IN ATHENS

IT is a great satisfaction to note that Greece and Yugoslavia always found themselves on the same side and fought together for the same cause in all the fateful crises which have occurred in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world.

These identical attitudes taken by our two countries, often without any written arrangements or predefined obligations, can be explained only by the common interests of Greece and Yugoslavia, which, with an inflexible logic, conditioned identical attitudes of the two countries at all important turning-points.

On this basis a truly traditional friendship was built between the peoples of Greece and Yugoslavia.

The history of Greece and Yugoslavia is actually an uninterrupted continuity of efforts for the gaining and preservation of national freedom and independence. In this respect the famous Greek „Ohi!“ (No!) to the ultimatum of fascist aggressors is not only a manifestation of this liberty loving continuity of Greece, but also a symbol and one of the bases and guarantees of the truly traditional friendship of the Greek and Yugoslav peoples.

Therefore we can freely say that the agreements signed after the Second World War between Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey — the Ankara Pact and the Bled Alliance — only legally sanctioned these historical facts and this historically confirmed community of the national interests of Greece and Yugoslavia.

Therefore, although concluded in the post-war days beset by dangers and threats against independence, the Balkan Alliance is not for either Greece or Yugoslavia the outcome of a temporary necessity, nor an artful combination of clever politicians, but another manifestation of the traditional interdependence of interests and destiny.

Recently, various circles have frequently expressed „concern“ for the fate of the Balkan Alliance. It is hardly necessary to stress that the policy of peace which is actively pursued by the Yugoslav Government, far from threatening the Balkan Alliance, contributes to the consolidation of peace in the Balkans and creates conditions for the full prosperity of the Balkan countries — which altogether is the realization of the basic aim of the Balkan Alliance and of the most important intentions of its founders. Moreover, by striving for the consolidation of peace, we only create conditions for the realization of a broader, closer comprehensive cooperation between Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey which will in itself act as a factor of peace, and also strengthen guarantees where any attempts made.

When speaking of fears and „fears“ for the future of the Balkan Alliance, one should add that what might weaken and threaten the strength of the Balkan Alliance is not the policy of peace and coexistence, but possible disputed questions. We are happy that we can say there are no such problems between Greece and Yugoslavia.

The common experience of the past has imposed Balkan cooperation as an imperative of which both the peoples and statesmen of the three allied Balkan countries are aware. We are deeply convinced that the logic of correctly understood national interests will also in the future condition new fruitful results in the sphere of Balkan cooperation which will draw closer together and link more firmly the peoples of our countries.

In this sense the visit of the Sovereigns of allied Greece to Yugoslavia will be a significant event in the

sphere of Balkan cooperation, especially in the sphere of Greek-Yugoslav relations. Once again it will convincingly confirm that the traditional friendship and alliance between Greece and Yugoslavia is not a courteous phrase out of diplomatic communiqués, but a living reality based on the historically confirmed community of the national interests of our two countries, which both the peoples and responsible statesmen of Greece and Yugoslavia, are aware of.

The Tripartite Economic Cooperation

by P. PAPALIGURAS

MINISTER FOR COORDINATION, GREECE

AMONG the fields of common action — political, military, economic, cultural—contemplated by the authors of the Balkan Pact, the one which offers the broadest and the most fruitful possibilities, as well as the most successful prospects, is the field of economic cooperation.

This is somewhat of a new field. That does not mean that the three countries involved have not had in the past close economic relations, but what is new about it is the new standards used in the study of economic problems, as well as the fact that their solution is sought in the frame and the spirit of international community.

First, one must note that in their mutual relations, Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece have still to go a long way to coordinate their efforts towards a close, fruitful and constructive cooperation. In spite of all that has been done so far, one must not forget that the foundations of this Pact have been laid only these last few years. In various sectors, which were among the most promising, agreements have been concluded or prepared, on a tripartite or bilateral basis. I will mention two such instances in order to illustrate their importance.

The principles of a policy of collaboration in the tourist field have been agreed upon. In this case the mutual interest of the three countries is obvious. Tourists coming to Greece will pass through Yugoslavia on their way to or from Greece if they can find there all the facilities they

are entitled to expect as regards traffic, hotel accommodations and the like, or they will go on from Greece towards Turkey or vice versa. Tourist travelling by car coming from Italy on the ferryboat which we plan to establish between Brindisi and the Greek coast on the Ionian sea will prefer to drive further on and return along a different itinerary.

A few months ago, Yugoslav and Greek experts met in Skopje to lay the foundations of a possible cooperation in all questions of common interest concerning the exploitation, control and regulation of border lakes and of rivers flowing through both countries, as well as related activities such as: protection of the soil against erosion, reafforestation, irrigation, etc. The main principle and the aim of such collaboration is the rational exploitation of the water in the best mutual interests of the two countries, particularly of the population of the areas concerned.

However, the solution of the basic problems which we must settle in Ankara, Athens and Belgrade exceeds the respective resources of the three countries; that is why our cooperation must go beyond the tripartite plane on to a wider international plane. In this regard our needs and interests are parallel and concordant.

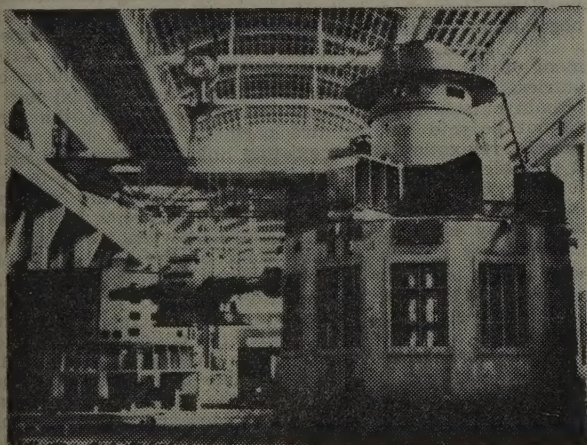
The essential characteristics of the national economy of the three countries are the same. The level of the per capita income is among the lowest in Europe. Their economic structure is mainly based on agriculture. Their population, especially in the rural areas, suffers from inadequate employment. Their foreign commerce suffers from almost endemic handicaps which, added to other factors, aggravate the difficulties raised by a balance of payments which is very sensitive and almost continuously shows a deficit.

All these organic weaknesses, including those related to monetary instability, to budgetary balance, to credit difficulties and investment problems, are briefly described in the modern terms „underdeveloped country". What is the remedy for all these difficulties? The answer is simple, but not so easy to apply: an investment policy aiming at the improvement of agricultural production, the development of natural resources and the creation of new industries within the rational possibilities of each country.

But, of course, the implementation of such a program of economic development is not easy. What is conspicuously absent, because of the limited amount of national savings, is capital. To find capital, our countries must apply to wealthier foreign countries.

In this regard we can cooperate. We are already doing so, particularly in Geneva, in the organs of the Economic Commission for Europe dealing with the problems of Southern Europe.

We must persevere in this common effort, for the mutual interest of nations requires the more developed countries to aid the development of less developed countries.



If the latter seem to be the first and principal beneficiaries of such a policy, the developed countries benefit also by it in the short or long run — and in this case such profits may even be greater.

Today, the principle of economic solidarity between nations and its corollary, which is the mutual obligation of countries to help one another in order to achieve world progress, are principles of international law formulated in the United Nations Charter. Although they contain some theses of thinkers from far back in the past, we must nevertheless recognize that their affirmation in international life is due to the strong and generous impulse which was felt from overseas less than 15 years ago, in the darkest days of the war. This impulse has been renewed since. But such principles are still too young for their implementation to be already well assured.

Our optimism is mainly based on our own resolve to do our best to carry out the tasks undertaken in our respective countries. We will always have to face difficulties. We will no doubt have to face new failures. New problems will crop up incessantly. But nothing can discourage us. We had to face — especially Greece and Yugoslavia — much more serious, complex and painful situations after the war. Our efforts reflect the desire, the wish, the will, the resolve of our peoples to create a better future, to increase the general welfare. Born from our national spirit, our governments, aware of their responsibilities, endeavor to pursue a policy inspired by the desiderata and aspirations of our peoples.

Personally I am fully confident in our success.

The Future of the Balkan Pact

by Stratis SOMERITIS

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE OF GREECE

THE recent statements of President Tito on the future of the Balkan Pact and the need for it to be readapted to the new international conditions have aroused certain reactions in the public opinion in the other member countries; the reasons for these reactions are debatable, but they reveal the survival in certain political circles of an attitude which is not in accordance with the spirit we already call the Geneva spirit.

One does not need to be an oracle to see the extent to which the world situation which prevailed at the time of the signature of the Bled Agreement in the Summer of 1953 was changed following the developments which led to this new era of peace due to the relaxation of tension in the relations between the two blocs.

In 1953 cold war still divided the world — and the Balkans — in two decidedly antagonistic blocs in the ideological fields as well as in others. In particular the situation in the Balkans warranted the most serious concern. Although peace had been reestablished along the borders of Northern Greece, a new element of tension had taken its place following the break between Belgrade and Moscow. And the admission of Turkey and Greece in the Atlantic Pact and the special agreements concluded between the two countries and the United States led to the participation of the Balkans in the antagonism between the USA and the USSR.

Under such conditions, it was natural that the Balkan Pact concluded between Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece aimed at limiting the most imminent danger threatening the three countries and concerning their security. That is why the Balkan Pact in its first phase had the character of a defensive, and consequently, military alliance. And we must recognize that it is owing to Yugoslavia's attitude that this alliance remained strictly Balkanic despite the pressure exerted to have it broadened and included within the military and political system of the Atlantic Pact.

This priority of the questions related to their common defence did not cover, however, all the interests envisaged by the cooperation thus established between the three countries. Simultaneously with common defence, the three countries examined plans for cooperation in the economic and cultural fields, whose implementation will be made possible by the creation of a Consultative Assembly for the Balkans.

The changes which have occurred since 1953 in the world situation influence naturally the priority to be given to the various aims sought by the countries included in the Bled Agreement.

First of all there has been the normalization of the relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, which was confirmed by the visit of the Soviet leaders in Belgrade. The declaration issued in Belgrade after the talks conducted between the leaders of the two countries do not cover only the relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union; it is a basis for the possible normalization of the relations between the Soviet Union and the other two Balkan Pact countries. It may also be the basis for the normalization of the relations between the Balkan countries bound by the Bled agreement and the countries included in the Warsaw agreements, such as Bulgaria, Albania and Rumania.

The second development following the visit of the Soviet leaders in Belgrade was the Geneva Conference. There is general agreement on the fact that the Geneva Conference can be interpreted as having put an end to the cold war between the two blocs, and that mankind can nowadays envisage its future with a greater hope in the stability of peace.

Of course, there are still very important mooted questions between the world powers; they remained to be settled. But what is important is the fact that the Geneva Conference has excluded war and such practices are conducive to war as a means of solving international problems, imposing instead international agreement and negotiations conducted in an atmosphere of mutual respect.

The same spirit must also be dominant in the settlement of the questions still pending before the Balkan countries. Although Yugoslavia's attitude has enabled her to remain outside the rift between the two blocs, the same cannot be said for her two partners. Let us hope for a gradual relaxation of the existing links, which would make it possible for the spirit of the Geneva Conference to materialize in the relations between the secondary partners of the two blocs, in the same way as it seems to materialize today as regards the relations between the Big Two.

I would like to mention some of the moot questions which remain to be settled between these countries. I mention for instance the war waged by the Rumanian and Bulgarian radio networks against the internal regime in Greece, and vice-versa. There is no doubt that such practice is a form of intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. I would also like to mention the question of the mutual limitation of the forces of the Balkan armies, which should be a direct consequence of the normalization of the relations between the Balkan countries and other countries.

These difficulties are inherent to the situation created in the Balkans when some Balkan countries became included in one or the other of the blocs who were rivals for world supremacy before the Geneva conference.

Should we think that these difficulties cannot be overcome and that consequently nothing has changed in the Balkans after the Soviet visit in Belgrade and the Geneva Conference, as might be inferred from certain negative attitudes?

Nothing could be more erroneous. On the contrary, I think that the Balkan Pact countries have over the other Balkan countries certain advantages they should use in the interest of peace.

The first advantage is that they were the first to apply successfully the idea of an active and strong coexistence between countries whose internal orders are basically different. The second is that, owing to Yugoslavia's policy, the Balkan countries have remained outside either one of the two blocs.

Today these two advantages enable the three Balkan countries, thanks to the close links established between them, to initiate measures conducive to the pacification of the Balkan area.

And although, in the first phase of their alliance, they had to give priority to their common defence because of the international situation prevailing at that time, it is absolutely logical and natural for them, after the creation of the new conditions deriving from the Geneva Conference, to give priority now to questions relating to cooperation in the economic, social and cultural fields. Such cooperation will broaden and strengthen the links between the three countries. And in this way the Balkan Pact could become a center of attraction for other Balkan countries, as the only means to ensure peace in this part of the world and, at the same time, to guarantee for the Balkan peoples the conditions necessary for their independence and progress.

Notes on Greece

(EXTRACTS FROM A DIARY)

by Dušan MATIĆ

WHEN the classical name of Greece is mentioned, one involuntarily thinks of antique columns, of statues, of the ruins of ancient cultural monuments, of Plato and Aristotle, of Homer and of Ulysses' Odyssey, of the tragedies of Aeschylus and Sophocles. However...

The train is moving fast. It's dawn. The early morning sun floods the window-curtain with a honey-coloured glow. Judging by the noise of the train one would say it is going through mountain gorges. You cautiously lift a corner of the curtain to avoid waking up the sleeper on the upper berth.

Rocks!... just as in Dalmatia!... you whisper to yourself.

And you drop the curtain. You go to bed again, but you can't go back to sleep. For the first time you are waking up in Greece... And you lift the curtain again...

A torrent of oleanders covers the rocky slopes... A real pink river...

And this vision stamps itself on the memory, immediately and forever. It will haunt me to the end. And I know that should anybody ask me tomorrow: "What is Greece like?", I would certainly answer: "A torrent of oleanders!"...

It is five o'clock. No, no. After this — no more sleep! One should stand at the window and watch. Until the end of the journey.

And indeed — from the first moment and all the way to Tripolis, Epidaurus and the ancient vaults of the Mycenae Kings in the Peloponnesus, down the rocky slopes, along the roads, in these June days, clusters, torrents of oleanders everywhere delight the eye. They give a smiling, laughing expression to the rocky landscape of Greece, its brittle yellow and reddish earth, under a hard, burning, heavy, white-hot sky.

And one immediately understands how it happened that the full, brilliant, human smile bloomed in stone here of all places, on this soil, nearly twenty five centuries ago, under the chisel of the Greek masters, how the "wonderful harmony" of matter and spirit made its exceptional appearance...

I remember my childhood. I remember an oleander shrub, a single one in the garden of my grandmother at the foot of Bagdala mountain in Serbia. How difficult it had been to make it grow, planted in a large wooden box. In wintertime it had to be sheltered in the cellar to keep it from freezing. Somewhere deep inside I kept the memory of the sharp, bitter, taste of its leaves, the colour of its mysterious pink flower, of a colour so delicate and

at the same time so intensive and dazzling that it was more beautiful than the colour of the usual rose for there, under the ambiguous sky of Serbia, where the sun is warm enough in summer for the oleander to bloom, but where winter snows can nip it in the bud, this single oleander of childhood always made me dream about the far away southern skies. It was so difficult to raise it there, but here, you find it, spreading the gay whispering of its flowers everywhere on the rocky slopes of Greece...

This can never be forgotten.

This — about the flowers of Greece.

And perhaps we should also mention the flower called "simari" (one of our fellow-travellers said that Houbigan perfume is distilled from it). In contrast to the oleander, its flower has a discreet mauve colour and a strangely penetrating smell and has a short, stringy and prickly stalk. I first noticed it at Sunion, at the southernmost point of Attica, where one can still see the remaining thirteen pillars, wondrously white after so many centuries, as if time had not touched them with its patina, of Poseidon's temple, from where Aegeus threw himself into the sea which now bears his name.

And I discovered it unobtrusive, everywhere in Greece. There is another flower which I have to mention.

In the heart of the Peloponnesus, where, in the days of yore, they say was flowery, pastoral Arcadia, where one could think that the Mediterranean climate is almost disappearing and where the scenery becomes mountainous and barren, but whence one can sight at every turning, a cove and the sea, in the distance, and yet, so-to-speak at arm's length — one finds one's self suddenly surrounded with yellow, almost translucent flowers set on tall, straight stalks. They are called "sparta". It seems that the famous, military, austere, courageous and cruel ancient city of Sparta actually was named after that flower which grows in abundance in its surroundings. Involuntarily, I began to be angry at the professor of history I had when I was studying in secondary school because he did not know how to make of the austere and cruel legend about the famous city that poetic vision of the flower which gave it its name. The sharp and ruthless features of Sparta would have for me, no doubt, something softer and tenderer in their expression. And more human. But, as Leon Paul Fargue used to say, "our professors told us about the sun of Greece with the accent of the night, the cellar and the smell of an old pigeonhouse."

ON THE WAY TO ATHENS

We have been travelling since early morning through olive-groves, surrounded with high rocky walls, intersected by vineyards, and occasional cornfields, where harvesting is already under way. No ancient columns, no classical ruins. The small towns and villages are nestled on the hillside, with houses forming an amphitheater; one can see men and women working in the fields.

The peasant-women do not cover their head with scarves as in our country, but wrap a thin white material around their head so that their faces are hardly visible, no doubt because of the sun which burns more strongly than in our country. Like veils, one would say, on the antique bas-reliefs. In contrast to our peasant women, they cover their hands with some kind of gloves made of cloth.

It is about eight o'clock. The train passes through a small town. These rapid pictures, seen rapidly from the train, allow us to detect, as if from an instantaneous cross-section, those universal human qualities which live in every country underneath the thin layer of differences. Women are busy in their homes, actually in front of their houses, under the porch; the men are already in their shops; look, the cobbler is at work in front of his door, in the shade of an olive-tree. Several guests are sitting at the terrace of small cafe, reading newspapers, but for a moment they glance at the passing train. And that building over there is, evidently, a high school that two-storied, yellow building, a little neglected, as all schools usually appear to be. It is play time, the pupils wear school caps, similar to those worn by our secondary school boys. The clothes are modern, but the whole life seems to be in the street. Just as it must have been in the antiquity. When Socrates philosophized at Agora.

But I am waiting to see Athens. It is almost noon. Built up areas are more and more frequent. This reminds us that we are nearing the great city.

There is the Acropolis! Who could fail to recognize its profile! The Acropolis surrounded by a white sea of houses. But to the east of the Acropolis — of this hardly anybody ever says a word — stands a hill much higher than the Acropolis, in the centre of modern Athens. Likabettos — it is called. But this is surely Athens. The Acropolis is so expressive under the white, leaden, Attica sky heavy with the sun.

ATHENS

We are passing through the Athens suburbs. We cut across streets. The Athens railway station is small, almost provincial, but very clean. And then, in less than a couple of minutes, one finds oneself actually in the heart of a vastly alive big modern city, European in the full sense of the word, if this customary epithet can conjure up the impression.

Athens is a city with a million inhabitants. With its port of Piraeus it numbers today from one and a half millions to one million and eight hundred thousand citizens. This is nearly one fifth of the Greek population. And just as it is said that Paris is all France, at least culturally, so many Greeks say with some regret that Athens is almost modern Greece. Thinking about Athens and about our country, it seems to me that we often forget that „some wonders“ have happened in the Balkans during the last one hundred and odd years. There, in our area, in our „Balkan“ area, in the midst of this turbulent post-war world, the most progressive social order — as much as is humanly possible today — is being built despite all difficulties. In the south of the Balkans, around the remaining ruins of this renowned historic city on the very soil of its famous and unsurpassed culture of yore, new Greece succeeded in building a modern city of a million inhabitants in less than one hundred and twenty years. When people talk mechanically and habitually about the wondrous rapidity of city-building in America, they should not forget modern Athens.

Through this new live reality of Greece, I have approached ancient Greece, the Acropolis and museums.

Many of these old monuments are known from hearsay, from reading, from reproductions. This torso of the great antique culture, devastated and so terribly mutilated by centuries and conquests, only here, under its own natural skies receives its real features, revives, gets a new harmony of its own and its actual proportions, which can never be adequately evoked from photographs and reproduc-

tions. The caryatids at Erechtheon for example, come as surprise with their simplicity, their naturalness, their proportions, their harmony, I should say their charm and the same time a kind of extraordinary but restrained force with which they support the weight of the roof.

It seems almost strange that so much time had to pass and that some men still discuss matter today trying to grasp and visualize the full reality of ancient Greece, which cannot be imagined without simultaneous contrasts a unity contained in the expressions „Apollonian“ and „Dionysian“ Greece — the sober, reasonable Greece and the dissolute Greece, the bright and dark Greece, the composed and restless Greece. For these two Greeces have stood together, they only thus, dually, existed as a single Greece. To understand the essence of ancient Greece, should be recalled that at the foot of the Acropolis where the most harmonious works of pure beauty were to be seen where the goddess of wisdom ruled — stands Dionysian theatre whose bas-reliefs reveal the chiselled sensual dark passion and drunkenness of the god Pan, and that is where the temple of Aesculapius and his hospital stood. All this seems to be staining itself to express in an impressive, almost direct manner, the profound wisdom attained by ancient Greece — namely, that harmony, beauty and reason can be reached only through a purgatory of fire of vesting one of all that is sinister in man, and that man too, in his rise to beauty and reason, starts from that motionless, dark, sensual night. If we forget this, then nothing can be understood any more.

Here at the foot of the Acropolis did I grasp, in a very simple manner, why Aristotle considered Greek tragedy as a catharsis for the souls, for the cleansing of the spirit. The very reality of the Greek life told him this, as the theatre and hospital do not lie side by side only in the shade of the Acropolis, but also at Epidaurus, and perhaps in all the ancient Greek cities.

However, lest I forget: twice I saw the Acropolis, illuminated in the night. I can only quote the line of the Greek poet, which somebody whispered near me:

A jewel set in the ring of the world...

BUT THE LIGHT OF ATTICA...

At noon, before leaving Athens.

For days already, I have been searching for a word I am searching for it again at parting, in these last hours — the word with which I should like to describe this light of Attica. A single, simple word, for only such a word it must be. A unique word — for this light, it seems to me is pure light: I can see the whole of its spectre without remnants.

Without illusions. Here even the shade itself seems to be made of pure light: only its other facet.

Here, light is reality itself. All things seem to be cast into it, into its crystal, clear and definite, without a single visual distortion. Without bluish, opaque shades, as when I go north. Or if I start for the south, where it is cruel desert-like, already at Mycenae, where the guard no longer keeps watch, looking out for fires on the neighbouring hills — heralding the Achaean victory at Troy, so that the bloody royal revenge of Atreus could begin, where today above the ruins of royal graves and the bare, desolate Argos, only the mother-eagle teaches her eaglets to fly, and all the way to the Equator and beyond it, where death and silence write their truth, where light is deathly and murderous, all the way to where the merciless Abyssinian sun left its stamp of exhaustion on the face of Rimbaud as shown on that horrible photograph of the „indomitable“ who could only be broken by those flaming skies, thus marking out our boundaries and indicating the border where negro wisdom starts.

But here, in Attica, I know finally what light is, and this discovery gives me a lasting joy. But I am equal joyful at the thought that this light, — close, intimate, is my own light. As if I had known it for ages. Even before I was born, as it were. Or am I carrying it in myself since the great holiday days of my childhood when the various Serbian Moravas run dry and their summer flow hard crawls, while their wooden bridges creak with dryness when carts slowly pass over them? Or perhaps do I carry it in my blood, the light which I always saw, that golden dust, as I closed my eyelids while we were playing hide-and-seek, and which I cannot suppress even today when I close my eyes in order to have a better inner vision of a thing, a memory or a thought. I remember, I know, I

clearly felt this light one day in July 1914, at the Lajko-
ac railway station, where we were waiting for the train
on our flight from the north to the south. The war was
to begin shortly, the Austro-Hungarian armies were ho-
vering over the Drina, the Sava and the Danube like ghosts.
Service-men, refugees, women, children. A hot July day,
ch, still fields the light glow of the light everywhere. At
the deserted station, from which two hot lines run only in
one direction through the yellow-green field, I feel myself
suddenly detached, painfully clear and definite, as if wren-
ched from some turbid stream, endlessly alone and for
the first time capable of unambiguously whispering to
myself „I“. And I feel that so it will be to the end — the
earth, I and the sun, cut into that light, with a station
always behind me and another always in front of me, and
that the whole darkness of fate awaiting me in the face
of that light will nonetheless lie down like tired leaves,
reaching as far as these words which I am mingling with
that light, sitting here, on the cafe terrace in Omonia square — the light both old and young like the world...

And once again, in the midst of that same war, on
the Pont des Arts, where nature and history unexpectedly
march in step with the river and the pedestrian, at that
last station of this, our light. For further on — are the
everish eyes of white nights and black days — endless
reams and unbearable vigils.

It seems to me I have sometimes caught its gaze on
the Zlatar mountain too, after so many night storms, so
many rainy clouds which drag themselves for days through
the spruce and pine forests — when its brightness suddenly
surveys on the clearing.

At Hvar, on the island of Hvar, at about one o'clock
in the afternoon, only the white-gray stone of the houses,
the dark closed shutters of the windows, the few pines on
the hill where the graveyard is, silence and light on the
rocks and water. I know now that it was this light.

Once at Cavtat, at the last moment, at about five in
the afternoon, when I was able to catch its gaze.

And now I know that it was this light which I now
mix with my ink. This light is my ink. Here it is in its
intirety, without any remnants.

It, this light, is above life and death. They are only
clearly cut into them. Now I understand: the earth, water,
fire and air. Here, they are indeed the four elements. And
between them, I am again only this: earth, water, fire and

air. We are equalized. Death does not exist. It is only the
end. There exist only the transitoriness and eternity of
forms. Here have I understood that intelligence has hard
muscles, and that it springs from man's inside. That the
body can be as transparent as reason. Here I fully grasped
Marx's thought: „The animal produces only according to
the measure and the need of its species, the species to
which it belongs, while man is capable of producing accord-
ing to the measure of every species, and everywhere can
attach to the object its inherent measure; hence man fa-
shions according to the laws of nature... His hand has
become free, as the meaning of an object for me goes as
far as my feeling goes“.

For — I have already written about, and why not
repeat it: there are still some unexhausted authenticities
in the old myths, even in those most accessible to us, except
the Slavonic — in the old Greek myths. For ages have we
been here, on the Mediterranean soil. The only Slavs that
have known, since the earliest times, the warm sea, so that
I always feel its pulse beating in me like a tireless dark
pendulum. And we have even absorbed in the melody of
our language the old Greek word *thalassa* — the sea, by
transforming it into our *talas* — the wave, so as not
to forget it, the sea, while staying in our hills, by our
restless rivers. This truth is also to be found, for example,
in the myth — Homer described it in his *Odyssey* — that
sacrifice should be made in blood, that is in life, so that
thanks to this living blood, the dead could speak again
(as only the living speak, and the rest, with the strength
of the living).

It seems to me that only by introducing into the past,
into the old monuments, age-long beauty and long uttered
words, what is most essential in us — our life, the core of
that life, our beauty, the core of that beauty, can we com-
pletely understand, feel, how they wholly speak in us.
Here, wherever I walk, while the live life of the present
men revives the old stones in this way, as well as the
eternally mutilated torso of the classical Greek past — it
seems to me that I grasp more intimately the antique thou-
ght, antique beauty, and both the illuminated and dark
side of my own life, and through it also the life of ancient
Greece.

If I should again come to Greece one day, I know...
Alors, m'éveillerai-je à la ferveur première,
Droit et seul, sous un flot antique de lumière. (Mallarmé).

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Forms of Cooperation between Socialist Forces

by Veljko VLAHOVIĆ

PRESIDENT OF THE COMMISSION FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

CONTEMPORARY developments have brought in their wake a number of new features, a number of qualitatively new changes, which mark the present situation with a specific character, influence the present and the immediate future in a specific way, introduce new components, unknown 15—20 years ago, into contemporary phenomena. In order to become acquainted with the present-day situation and to understand the course of contemporary development it is necessary, in the first place, to make a thorough analysis of the latest social changes. Only thus will it be possible to perceive the course of future events.

It is of utmost importance that conscious fighters for socialism should have a knowledge of contemporary developments. That knowledge is also necessary for the advancement of socialist thought and action, and ultimately for the discovery of ways and means of cooperation between socialist forces.

There is no doubt that there is a certain disparity today between the number of new phenomena in the contemporary development of society and social relations, and the elucidation and theoretical explanation of these phenomena from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism.

In the explanation of different phenomena and events, Marxist thought has been restricted mainly to the period of preparation of the labour movement for advent to power, namely to the period of preparation for the undertaking in practice of the construction of socialist social relations.

Since the October Revolution, many events of great importance to socialist development have taken place in the course of the very process of growth of socialist forces, so that their enumeration alone would be sufficient to reveal the scope of the task facing the theory and practice of the contemporary labour movement and contemporary expansion of socialist forces.

In the first place, the present picture of the colonial question no longer corresponds to the picture, analysed in detail by Marx, Engels and Lenin. Two of the largest colonies — China and India — have joined the process of socialist construction. A number of peoples, who until recently were in colonial or semi-colonial relations, have acquired national independence, and are more or less actively participating in events permeated with the contradictions characteristic of contemporary mankind. Even in capitalist society, namely in the highly-developed capitalist states, classical colonialism is becoming an obstacle and fetter to the extension of the area of expansion of capital. Contemporary imperialism may be said to have abandoned the classical forms of colonialism and in their place is endeavouring to introduce new forms, better suited to the contemporary situation, and especially to contemporary economic development. The increased role of the State in economic life and the state-capitalist elements in the economy are an indication of this trend. The new forms are encountered in various communities, economic, military and political associations, where tendencies of political and economic domination and — in an ideological respect — the most reactionary political forces, find expression. Not all of the United Nations organs even have been spared these tendencies. In them we see progressive trends towards the strengthened role of small countries, settlement of contradictions between developed and under-developed areas, clash with tendencies which reflect the struggle for political and economic hegemony.

All these new phenomena request a more serious scientific Marxist analysis both in regard to the development

of theory and to the drawing of practical conclusions for the struggle of conscious socialist forces.

The disintegration of the colonial system has created a new situation for the working class of the former colonial powers as well, because colonialism had not only fettered the development of peoples in the colonies and effected a ruthless plunder and exploitation of the working masses, but had also fettered the working class of the metropolis. This type of shackles have now burst and this fact must mean something in mankind's advance towards socialism and in the laying of tasks to the working class of the metropolis.

The complexity of the contemporary situation may also be seen in the role played by the former colonies — today independent countries — in the sphere of international relations. This situation has made it possible for our country, although small, to maintain its independence in the present times, to keep up its socialist construction despite the pressure of blocs, and to participate in international life as a positive factor. This situation enables other countries too, to play a more independent and more positive role in international events. The contemporary situation likewise compels the former colonial powers to resist certain tendencies of modern imperialism, etc. On the other hand, this development of events has prompted the working class in a number of countries to exercise powerful pressure both on the monopolist tops and on the State authority. Through that pressure, sometime conscious and sometime spontaneous, the working class is winning concessions and positions, which as a class, irrespective of the existence of different political groups and different ways of thinking, drive it on to continue fighting and seeking new concessions.

Into all these contradictions of contemporary development a new, extremely significant and powerful factor, has interposed itself — the discovery of atomic energy and the problem of the use of nuclear energy for peacetime purposes. One may say without any hesitation that it was the steam engine, namely the huge leap in the development of the productive forces that gave birth to the working class. The discovery of electric energy meant also a strong incentive to the development of socialist elements inside the old society and opened up the era of proletarian revolutions and revolutionary clashes. Atomic energy evidently signifies a new important step in the further development of socialist forces — spontaneous and conscious alike.

All these new elements are part of the old truth that modern social development is the reflection of the struggle which mankind has been waging for decades in its quest for new socialist forms of social order. And Marx' statement to the effect that mankind no longer wants to go on living in the old way but does not know how to live in the new way, is just as true today as it was one hundred years ago. The entire development of the productive forces urges society to find modes of living in the new way. And the more rapid the development of productive forces, the greater the need of finding these new ways. The use of nuclear energy for peacetime purposes, as well as a whole number of new discoveries which speed up the development of productive forces, will simultaneously prompt the advance of socialist forces.

The development of socialist forces, uneven in the past, will also be uneven in the future. This unevenness has become a law of socialist development. In certain coun-

tries, the former colonies for example, the national bourgeoisie, owing to many different circumstances is compelled, while fighting against century-old backwardness in its economic construction, to create the very economic basis upon which socialist relations will thrive. In industrially developed countries, the role of the State, which has strengthened very much in the course of the last fifteen years or so, at the same time is a process of the socialization of capital, though retaining, even if its forms may have changed, all the elements of capitalist exploitation. This process, however, also consolidates the basis upon which socialist forces will inevitably strengthen and expand. The cognition of the unevenness of socialist development contradicts the theory of two blocs — the socialist and capitalist, with clearly defined state frontiers. It also contradicts the theory of a single course leading to socialism, and finally runs counter to all attempts at imposing an organizational and ideological monopoly upon the labour movement, namely upon the entire struggle for the development of socialism.

The proletarian revolutions which started with the October Revolution and continued with the Chinese and Yugoslav Revolutions, raised the question of the construction of socialist society in practice, but also confirmed the unevenness of socialist development and created new problems, such as the problem of relations between socialist countries and the mode of cooperation between political parties which direct socialist construction in a number of countries.

Thus the question of forms of cooperation between socialist forces may be treated, primarily, from the angle of the past rich experience of the labour movement's development, from the angle of critical analyses of hitherto forms of cooperation, of a scientific explanation of all changes which have taken place since the period of the working class's preparations for advent to power, and finally, from the angle of problems which life itself has raised through the existence of states engaged in socialist construction, as well as through the appearance in practice of the question of relations between socialist countries.

In regard to past experience, it is rather convincing and may be reduced to a statement of the fact that the old forms of cooperation cannot meet the demands and requirements of contemporary cooperation between socialist forces.

Attempts at reviving the Second International, and attempts at reviving the Comintern through the Cominform have shown all the illogicalness and impossibility of resuscitating old forms in present conditions. Once again we have a confirmation of the truth that the contemporary situation cannot be viewed through old spectacles.

The conflict termed in a simplified way as the conflict between the Cominform and Yugoslavia was in fact a conflict between tendencies towards organizational and ideological monopoly and contemporary development, which shatters patterns and monopolies and is manifested in the unevenness of socialist development.

The creation of the Cominform confirmed once again that, in the present international situation and present situation of the workers' movements of different countries, it is impossible, and moreover, directly harmful, to form any centre which would direct the workers' organizations of various countries. The Cominform disregarded all the facts set out when the Communist International was dissolved, and endeavoured to revive and multiply the most negative manifestations which had earlier found expression in the work of the Communist International. One should underline that the observations contained in the decision passed by the Presidency of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the occasion of the disbandment of this organization were, in essence, correct.

This decision noted in part: „For a long time before the war it had become clear that in so far as the internal and international situation of different countries grows complicated, the settlement of the tasks of the labour movements of individual countries through the force of any international centre will encounter insurmountable obstacles.

The profound difference of the historical courses of development of various countries in the world, the different character and even the contradiction of their social orders, the difference in the level and rate of their social and political development, and finally, the difference in the degree of consciousness and organizational standard of

the workers, determine the different tasks facing the working class of various countries...

„The VII Congress of the Communist International held in 1935, taking into consideration the changes which had occurred both in the international situation and in the labour movement, which changes requested a greater mobility and independence of its sections in resolving the tasks laid down before them, had underlined the need of the Executive Committee of the Communist International approaching all questions of the labour movement from the angle of the concrete conditions and specific features of each country, and avoiding, as a rule, all direct interference in the internal and organizational matters of the communist parties'.

„Communists were never the supporters of out-dated organizational forms. They always subordinated forms of organization of the labour movement and methods of work of that organization to the basic political interests of the labour movement as a whole, to the specific features of the given concrete historical situation and to the tasks arising directly from that situation'.

Characteristic were the decisions and letters of different communist parties written in connection with the disbandment of the Communist International. Instructive in this respect is the letter of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, which noted the following:

„Although the Chinese Communist Party in its revolutionary struggle received great assistance from the Communist International, the Chinese Communists have for long already been in a position to determine independently their political line and carry it out in practice, taking as their point of departure the concrete situation and specific conditions of their country'.

Today it has become obvious that the positive process in the development of the labour movement, which gained sway after the disbandment of the Communist International, was interrupted through the creation of the Cominform whereby not only was this positive development impaired but a situation created for the re-appearance and introduction of methods alien to the labour movement and harmful to socialist development. The consequences of this will still be felt for long, because such consequences cannot be obliterated or removed overnight.

The creation of the Cominform sped up the resurgence of the Second International, although the present Second International is a pale replica of the Second International renewed after World War I, just as the Second International between two world wars was a pale replica of the Second International on the eve of World War I. The development and activity of the Second International shows that a process is taking place within that organization which, in essence, contains elements of disruption of obsolete organizational forms. That this process exists is revealed not only by the attitude of the Asian Socialist Conference and contemporary trends in the socialist movement of Latin America, but in the first place by the socialist movement in Yugoslavia, which has developed in contradiction to the conceptions and patterns advanced both by the Cominform and the Second International. This process is equally discernible in the extremely strong trends increasing steadily among the European socialist parties members of the Second International. Since we are already on the subject of past experiences of the labour movement I think we should also briefly recall experiences from the time when the First International was disbanded, when the labour movement had only begun to be organized. Although the situation today is different to what it was seventy years ago, certain phenomena, nonetheless, deserve attention. Bakunin preached and fought for a type of organization with monopoly position. In connection with the divergencies between Marx and Engels, on the one hand and Bakunin, on the other, which ultimately led to the disbandment of the First International, Engels in 1871 wrote the following: „Where to would such an organization lead us? It would degenerate into a fearing, spineless organization of first Christians, those slaves who with gratitude received every kick in the face and who, true by cringing in the course of 300 years won a victory for their religion. The proletariat, at any rate, will not resort to such a method of revolution. Like the first Christians who took as imaginary heaven as the model of their organization, they propose, as you see, in the exactly the same way, that we take the future social paradise of M. Bakunin as our model'. When it became clear that the First International

such as it was, could no longer survive, Engels in a letter to Sorge, dated September 1874, wrote: „Every attempt to inject new life into the International would be foolish and a waste of time. In its old form it is out of date”.

For us, today, it is clear that every attempt at instilling new life into the existing forms of association of the labour movement, would be absurd and a waste of time. The present situation requests forms of cooperation suited to it. It would, however, be just as foolish now to start prescribing or determining in advance the forms of future organization. The ground must, first of all, be cleared for the strengthening of all positive elements in the cooperation of socialist forces, now appearing on the horizon. And this means renouncing to the existing organizations, renouncing every attempt at prolonging the life of these organizations by injections. Evidently, this renouncement cannot be made of a sudden, for it is a process which must mature both in objective reality and in the minds of men. But the process itself can be sped up by scientific analyses of existing conditions and requirements of contemporary development.

This process likewise presupposes the repudiation of all attempts at imposing monopoly upon the labour movement. Such attempts are as old as the movement itself. In practice, they were realized through various forms, and were always a fetter to the development of socialist forces. Future cooperation between socialist forces will evolve in a process of constant struggle against similar attempts which, no doubt, will appear in the future too, even though they might appear only unconsciously, both among individuals and groups, and under the most varied guises. How else can one explain, for example, the attitude of certain American trade union leaders towards our trade unions and their stubborn insistence against cooperation with the Yugoslav unions, except as their desire to acquire a monopoly role in international trade union forums and organizations, in an ideological, political and organizational respect. Most characteristic in this respect is an article published by the NEW YORK TIMES of May 23-rd this year, under the heading of „Free Trade Unions Fight Titoist Invasion”. „The Yugoslavs” — says this article — „have lately been scoring considerable success establishing connections with the unions affiliated to the World Federation of Free Trade Unions. There is, however, little likelihood that they will be able to force the front on any wider scope in that sphere”. As may be seen, the author of this article reduces the entire issue of cooperation within the labour movement to the question of which side will swallow the other in that cooperation. To cooperate along such lines means to fight for a monopoly position and the position of a tutor in the labour movement. Our cooperation with socialist forces and workers' organizations, however, has quite a different point of departure. Alien to us is any idea which would strive at establishing the tutorship of our organizations and political movements over organizations and political movements cooperating or wishing to cooperate with us. This attitude gives us a free hand openly to criticize the things we do not like without any fear that our criticism will be misinterpreted, while at the same time enabling us to accept all principled and well-intentioned criticism of others.

In this way, future cooperation of socialist forces will include not only an exchange of experiences but also an exchange of critical surveys, resting on a scientific basis. Any attempt at imposing one's opinion upon the other side will be alien to this exchange which will have socialist development and the struggle for socialism as its point of departure and which will be well-intentioned, constructive and principled.

Future cooperation of socialist forces will move towards the most comprehensive and broadest association of all organizations, parties and movements fighting for socialism. Thus, we shall gradually reach the situation conceived by Engels at the time the First International was created „When the international association will include socialists of all shades of socialist conviction”. This does not mean that future cooperation will evolve on the grounds of ideological compromises. A situation must be created which will allow for broad cooperation on different questions alongside ideological struggle which may sometime be very sharp.

Certain elements of the future cooperation between socialist forces have also been provided by our hitherto experience and practice, which urges us to cooperate in-

creasingly not only with all groups and organizations within the labour movement, but also with political movements which in practice favour construction along lines leading to socialism.

We have in the past often heard the remark: „We shall see whether you should be received in our society”. Our political and social organizations are not striving to be received in the society of someone or another, for the simple reason that such as we are we happen to exist in this world, whether one might like it or not. We are not a world apart, but are inside that world, living together with that world, and a part of it. Since that is our point of approach, it is clear that we must seek points of contact with organizations and movements, primarily workers' organizations and movements, which are also a part of the world we live in. The needs of the contemporary situation impose this cooperation, and future developments will compel even those who artificially try to avoid this cooperation, gradually to alter their present attitude.

Starting from the standpoint that the socialism we are building in our country is not beyond time and space, that our country is a part of the world around us, and aware that we must live and act in this world such as it is, with all its shortcomings and good sides, it is only logical that we should seek ways and means of cooperating with all who wish for such cooperation. But that cooperation does not create illusions among our men preventing them to see most of the ideological weaknesses of the organizations and parties cooperating with us, or to listen patiently to the critical remarks of others regarding our conceptions. Our experience re-affirms our belief that the new forms of cooperation between socialist forces will pave a way for themselves, irrespective of the wishes and conceptions of individuals. And the sooner and more widely is the need for this cooperation felt, the quicker will it develop, the more rapidly will the obstacles hampering it, be removed.

It is of great importance to clear up ideas and conceptions on forms of cooperation between socialist forces through a healthy, principled discussion. This clearing of the ground must clash inevitably with dogmatism, petrified forms, prejudices and faulty theoretical attitudes, and results of hitherto perverted practice. That is no easy task. It requests future cooperation of socialist forces to adapt itself, through practical realization, to the existing forms of socialist development. A powerful pressure is already being exercised today by these forms of development, not towards the disunity of socialist forces, but towards their integration, which means that any conscious activity, striving towards disunity is contrary to development and accordingly doomed to retreat, for forms of socialist development, though differing, are, nonetheless, the component part of a single process, — that of the advance of society towards socialism. In this connection we should point out to the fact that a number of men in the labour movement felt that the workers' parties and organizations should be linked up on a broader scale and drawn closer together. But these attempts at achieving such cooperation in practice, because they employ old, out-dated methods, inevitably suffer defeat. This applies to attempts at establishing cooperation between socialist and communist parties, which revive certain of the old forms dating back to

21.



the time of the popular fronts, which forms, in fact, led to the disintegration of the popular front groupings. This is reflected also by attempts at broadening forms of cooperation within political and trade union international organizations, created after the old pattern and with very clearly manifested bloc conceptions. For that reason it is no wonder that these international organizations should be stamping about in one place, even hampering development, and living out their existence in sterile attempts at winning over one or another organization, one or another individual, current development all the while following the opposite direction and demanding association, not on the basis of bloc alignments or on the principle of which side will swallow the other, but on the basis of sincere, creative, genuinely socialist, principled and constructive policy.

We need only recall the period of popular fronts created just before World War II. In that „cooperation“, the question of the enemies of the labour movement and socialism was neglected and the main activity revolved around the question of which side would swallow the other and assume monopoly over the labour movement. This type of activity exhausted the strength of the labour movement; in appearance it extended the front of struggle against the bourgeoisie, while in fact it narrowed down that struggle, namely opened two fronts of struggle, which facilitated the victory of fascism and of the most reactionary forces of contemporary society. Future cooperation must rest on a basis which will strengthen socialist forces and broaden the scope of the struggle against bourgeois influence.

Experiences of the past are most valuable. An analysis of these experiences shows us that there can be no cooperation without sincerity in relations, that there can be no cooperation if any one side should harbour designs aimed at hegemony, should make attempts at imposing ideological and organizational hegemony upon the workers' movement.

Experience of the present shows us that socialist development is growing into the broad practice of millions of men, that these millions are gaining precious experience

and that analyses of forms of cooperation can no longer take as their point of departure that phase in the development of the labour movement when the latter was carrying out ideological revolutionary preparations for its advent to power. To that experience we must keep adding the experience of the socialist practice of millions of men which is extremely rich and is daily growing in wealth. This practice provides us with a number of elements for the discovery of forms of cooperation, suited to contemporary conditions and to the contemporary process of socialist expansion of forces.

The contemporary processes in the development of socialism, which are often spontaneous, demand not only to be understood and explained, but also to have socialist consciousness introduced into them through understanding and explanation. And this consciousness can be introduced only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, namely through the application of Marxist methods in the analyses of the contemporary processes of socialist development. We shall thus achieve, not only forms of cooperation which will show the greatest understanding for all these processes but also that which contemporary development lacks, namely the introduction of the conscious element in this spontaneous development, which will give it fresh incentive and accelerate its motion, facilitating the struggle against bourgeois influences.

In this way, the question of uniting the forces of the labour movement will no longer be raised in a mechanical and abstract manner, divorced from the contemporary process of development, but will naturally arise from the needs of contemporary socialist development. Great and responsible in that respect is the role of countries building socialism. The sooner these countries realize that it is impossible to hold sectarian attitudes of orientation today, based exclusively on one group or party in the labour movement, the quicker will the process of uniting the forces of the labour movement evolve, which process will extend to cooperation of all forces fighting in practice today for socialist construction.



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Problems of the European Council

by L. ERVEN

I

THE European Council, during its latest meeting, attracted more attention of the politically-minded public than at any time previously. So far, the work of the Council, it must be admitted, has not been arousing any appreciable interest beyond the circles of parliamentarians, who take part in it, and journalists, who in their professional duty have to record it in brief reports. This fact is not flattering for the Council, an international organization which, when set up, was given great and ambitious tasks. As a result, the general conclusion is that in the six years of its existence the Council has not succeeded in affirming itself in the eyes of the public as an active organization and important international factor. People, it is true, spoke out in favourable terms, but it was out of courtesy rather than conviction. Consequently, there must be something wrong in the organization, or, otherwise, it must be pursuing something that is no longer in harmony with the objective international conditions and needs.

A discussion at this year's meeting of the Council, which attracted a good deal of attention, showed that this was not only the impression of impartial observers, but a problem that is worrying even the members of the Council themselves. At this meeting a number of its members, including the British Foreign Secretary, Macmillan, wondered whether it would not be wise to plan some changes in the Council and its conceptions so as to make the expansion of its membership possible. Macmillan did not say that, but that is what can be inferred from what he did say. Yugoslavia was mentioned in the course of this discussion as a state which might possibly join the Council.

As it has become the tradition of the Council, this discussion has not been concluded. A further study of the problem is to be made, and the discussion resumed some time later.

But, regardless of the question discussed, of the manner in which it was put forward, and of the limits within which it was considered, the problem of the Council is extensive, interesting and urgent. We shall discuss in this article two fundamental aspects of this problem.

The European Council was based on two ideas, one of which was premature, and the other obsolete. Both ideas, therefore, could not but act as a check to the progress of the organization.

One of the ideas was to make the European Council an integrated instrument of European policy. In addition to the basic and definite tasks of the Council, which we shall mention in considering the other idea, it was imagined as an international organization which was to promote the idea of European unity so as to prepare the way for the European union. There are prominent members of the European Assembly who considered this to be the fundamental aim of the Council. The organs of the Council were to study problems of European significance, as well as individual questions of international cooperation, not only from the viewpoint of the national interests of the member states, but also from the wider, European point of view. Recommendations and suggestions which the Council was to submit to the governments were to contribute to the gradual equalization of the economic, social and cultural policies of the member states, so that, in time, similar legal institutions would be set up in all of them, which would prepare, either as national laws or international conventions, the future European legislation, the future unique system of Europe. In short, the European Council was to develop and foster unique European ideas.

Technically this was to be done through the Assembly of the Council. The Assembly was organized as an inte-

grated organ, whose members discuss problems independently of the official policies of their governments, and determine their views in accordance with their own opinions and convictions. Conclusions must be adopted independently of the national groups which constitute the Assembly. The Assembly, accordingly, was formed as a parliament in which views are formed in accordance with the general European point of view.

But the member states, although they accepted the institution of an European Assembly as an integrated body of European policy, were not willing to turn the European Council into a supranational organ, which would not be subject to the control of their governments. Therefore a Committee of Ministers was formed within the Assembly, in which international relations, based on the principle of sovereignty, are maintained. The Committee is the joint organ of the governments, because it is composed of their Foreign Ministers. All important decisions of the Committee must be adopted unanimously.

The effect of the integration realized in the Assembly is restricted in many ways. First, because all decisions of the Assembly except those concerning the internal administration of the organization — are subject to approval by the Committee of Ministers before they are accepted as decisions of the Council, and, secondly, because even the decisions so approved can be submitted to the governments of the member states only as recommendations and suggestions. The competent organ of the Council is the Committee of Ministers, not the Assembly. The Assembly can consider only those questions which are included in the agenda with the approval of the Committee.

This internal relationship between the organs of the Council, and their position in relation to the governments of the member states, which represent a compromise between integration and sovereignty, raised considerable difficulties in the functioning of the Council, because it depends on the cooperation of two organs with different composition and opposing tendencies. Some rivalry developed between the Assembly, composed of parliamentarians of various ideas, and the Committee of Ministers, composed of representatives of the governments, so that the Assembly is in an inferior position which is contrary to its ambitions and to the habits of its members. As a result, a great deal of competition is taking place between the Committee, i.e. the governments, and the Assembly, which is responsible for the political and propaganda effects among the public. It happened that some great debates in the Assembly encountered cold reception by the Committee and its realism and political opportunism. Many discussions conducted in the Assembly on different aspects of international cooperation failed to produce any decisions; if at times decisions were passed and approved by the Committee, they were not accepted by the governments, as was the case with the European Convention on Human Rights, which was not ratified by more than half of the member-states.

So far the European Council has had much wider possibilities of expression in politically less significant questions than in really important problems. Consequently, it would not be surprising at all if the members of the Assembly themselves began to think that the entire organization is of little importance.

All this leads to the conclusion — which was apparent some time ago — that the idea of an integrated European political institution is not ripe enough to make the correct functioning of an organization of this kind possible. The European Assembly, therefore, had to become a mere debating club, whose members' discussions might arouse some political interest among the public, but whose influence on the policies of the countries enrolled in it is insufficient.

The idea of creating an integrated instrument of European policy was, we see, applied in practice prematurely. The European Council, after all, was not the only international organization which tried to set up some kind of integrated system of international cooperation. There were earlier attempts which, one might say, were more realistic, because they involved a smaller number of more closely bound states. Some of these attempts have been given up, like the European Defence Community, or practically given up, like the European Political Union. Only the European Coal and Steel Community was realized, because the countries of the community are linked by definite economic interests. But even this community can still be considered to be an experiment, since the principles of integration have produced some unfavourable reaction in it too.

Integration, in fact, cannot be achieved without supranational bodies. An integrated international organization, within which function organs of national sovereignty cannot develop its integrational activities, because such organs are more powerful and realistic. In the European Council attempts are being made to reconcile these two factors. We believe that no success has been achieved in this.

In our opinion, the European Council would perhaps have a more effective influence on the development of useful international cooperation if this anomalous relationship between the Assembly and the Council of Ministers was to be removed, and the Assembly, which is an incomplete European parliament, with parliamentary ambitions but without parliamentary possibilities and effects, transformed into a joint political organ of international cooperation within more realistic limits. A reform of this kind could be of great importance, because problems would then be considered in both organs from the same point of view. International cooperation would be better served by harmonizing the interests of the countries who wish to strengthen such cooperation than by forcing them to work, through parliamentary-like methods of debating and voting, for an abstract common aim. For in this way progress towards unity would be made much more surely.

We have here considered the problem as it technically appears in the European Council, and as it is technically reflected in practice. However, this problem is connected with a political and ideological aim, which, in our opinion, gives rise to the basic criticism to which the European Council can be subjected. We shall discuss this matter in the second part of this article.

New Delimitation on the Mura River

by Karlo ŠUMAN

I

WHEN fixing the frontier line between two countries it is often the practice to take the course of a river as the frontier, although such a frontier is not always in keeping with ethnical principles, and is often in contradiction with local economic interests. However, it has been considered a „natural border” in the sense that the river, as a natural barrier, separates two countries, and because such a border is more visible, and better defined, and very often constitutes a kind of border separating an economic and geographic whole. But, a „natural border” which has thus been fixed and is often adopted in international practice is not so simple or „natural” as it appears at first sight. As a matter of fact, such a frontier line is often the source of different interpretations, and may even give rise to disputes between two countries.

When fixing the exact frontier line on river courses various methods have been used in the past. Thus, it was sometimes considered that both banks of the river constitute the border line while the river itself belongs to nobody. However, the conception that the frontier river is „nobody's”, could not be maintained for long. The increasing economic development of individual countries and the significance of river courses in economy necessarily induced both sides to take steps for a more correct delimitation, that is, to divide the river and to make arrangements for the mutual regulation of all questions of interest to both, such as fishing, navigation, exploitation of water for irrigation and energy, undertaking of hydro-technical works etc.

In the case of those rivers which were considered navigable, the border line was usually fixed in the middle of the river bed (Thalweg) which is not always the middle of the river. If several arms of the river were involved, the border was determined along the middle line of the main navigable arm. In the case of rivers which have been considered non-navigable, as well as in the case of other streams, the border line was fixed along the middle of the river or stream, or along the middle line of the main arm, if there were several arms.

However, even such, more correct, defining of the border line on rivers and other streams, did not provide a complete solution of the question. In the majority of cases the rivers, owing to the gradual action of their waters change their course partially or completely. This is particularly valid for the upper and middle courses of some

rivers. Hence it has become a custom to establish, by mutual consent, in the official border documents, that such a frontier line will be considered permanent and unchangeable regardless of the possible deviation of the frontier river, or else that the frontier line will be considered changeable, following the course of the river and all its meanderings, so that the river in question can remain the frontier between the two countries.

Both principles are applied in international practice.

II

As work is under way this year for the reestablishment of the Yugoslav-Hungarian frontier line on the rivers „Mura” and „Drava”, it would be interesting to consider, on the basis of existing documents, how this problem of our frontier line was treated in the past.

The Yugoslav frontier towards Hungary was fixed after the First World War on the basis of Art. 29 of the Treaty of Trianon signed June 4, 1920. Delimitation was carried out by an International Commission composed of representatives of the victorious powers (Britain, France, Italy and, for a time, Japan) and representatives of Yugoslavia and Hungary. This work was carried out in 1919 and 1922. The entire frontier was divided into 6 border sectors: „A” (Prekomurje), „B” (Medjumurje), „C” (Podvina), „D” (Baranja), „E” (Bačka) and „F” (Banat). A number of new States were set up after the First World War, while some countries suffered considerable frontier alterations, numerous international delimitation commissions were formed. All these commissions worked on the basis of instructions issued by the Conference of Ambassadors, whose seat was in Paris.

Under Art. 27 of the Treaty of Trianon, dealing with the fixing of the frontier line on the Mura and Drava rivers, the border line followed „the downstream course of the Mura” and „the downstream course of the Drava” with a rectification in the previous administrative border between Croatia-Slavonia on the one hand and Hungary on the other.

The following directions were formulated in Art. 28 of the same Treaty, in connection with the establishment of the principle of permanence or variability of the border line on the river courses:

„Nonetheless, it is left to the delimitation commission to decide whether the frontier line will be changed with the possible changes of the thus defined flow or meanderings of the river.”

course of the river or whether it will be finally determined by the position of the flow or middle course of the river at the moment this Treaty enters into force."

In the course of 1921 and 1922 the International Commission prepared the necessary frontier documentation: description of the frontier line, summaries of measuring data and topographical surveys with linear and angular measurements between frontier signs taken in detail.

The description of the frontier line for sector „B" — general description — contains the following statement: From the confluence of the Lendava and the Mura to the point where the Mura flows into the Drava, the border follows along the main course of the Mura. It runs further along the Drava, downstream to the railway bridge at Dješenesh. In that part of their course the Mura and the Drava flow through flat country and constantly change their beds. From the railway bridge at Dješenesh to the railway bridge at Barcz, the border coincides with the former administrative border between Hungary and Croatia. This border first followed the bed of the Drava or one of its tributaries, i. e. the border is constantly intersected by the present course of that river."

The same Description for sector „C" contains the following: „At this sector, the course of the Drava river is regular. The border extends along the middle line of the main navigable course."

It should be pointed out that the frontier line along the river and other streams has been marked by a double row of frontier posts — a row on each bank, — and these do not really mark the frontier line. The actual frontier line passes between this double row of frontier posts and is exactly shown on topographic surveys and in measurement data.

However, bearing in mind that description of the frontier line is a border document, which cannot yet give a perfectly detailed definition of the border line, the International Commission ruled in the above mentioned description, that at the end of each border sector, „in case of disagreement between the text and geographic maps, the surveying plan will be taken as authentic".

It follows from this that surveying data were given priority at that time. — the data on the basis of which topographical sketches were made. As the then International Commission had drawn up several different border documents, the words in the description of the border line have the effect that the frontier runs „...along the main course of Mura river", or „...along the middle line of the main navigable course of the Drava river", can only be interpreted in such a way that the border line along the Mura and Drava river courses follow the direction of the river courses at the moment of delimitation, i. e. 1921 and 1922, respectively.

We mention this because the International Commission has not deemed it necessary specially to emphasize that the frontier line thus defined on the water courses of the Mura and Drava would be permanent and unalterable regardless of any changes in the river course, as such permanence, in their opinion, had already been sufficiently expressed by the manner in which the whole topographic and surveying documentation of the border had been drawn up and by the statement that the „surveying plan will be taken as authentic". The later practice between Yugoslavia and Hungary as regards the frontier line along the Mura and Drava river courses shows that both sides considered that the frontier line along the above mentioned river courses was permanent and unalterable.

The Convention of July 24, 1926 concluded between Yugoslavia and Hungary in connection with the preservation and maintenance of frontier posts and the border line (which is no longer in force, as the Yugoslavs terminated it because it was incomplete), both sides agreed that the frontier line along the river courses should be permanent and unchangeable regardless of possible changes in the river course.

The first Article of this Convention regulates this matter as follows: „Finally they undertake to mark permanently the line of the established (fixed) border whenever the change of the river course should so require; also to revise the border line every ten years wherever it has been drawn along the river course (Thalweg)".

It should be pointed out here that the navigable course to which the planned revision of the frontier line applies

es, refers to that part of the Drava river from Barcz downstream, which is considered internationally navigable.

In the course of 1931 and 1932 a mixed Yugoslav-Hungarian commission re-established the entire border line. On all frontier rivers the border line was then considered as permanent and unchangeable, regardless of the change of courses.

Before going on to practical work in the field, the Mixed Commission, according to the protocol of June 26, 1931, took the following decision: „That the posts swept away by the water along the Tisa, Drava and Mura rivers should be replaced by new ones set up in secure places which are not likely to be flooded, and that their distance from the Trianon line be determined and noted in the sketches."

On the basis of this, as the topographic sketches show, a series of frontier posts were shifted on both banks of the frontier rivers in 1931 and 1932, i. e. they were moved to safer spots, while their new location with the new distances from the Trianon treaty border were entered into the report on the existing frontier. Thus the frontier line remained such as it had been in 1921 and 1922 respectively.

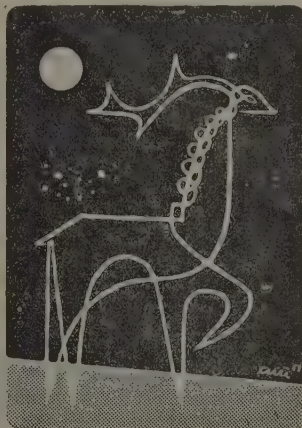
Similarly, the permanence and unalterable state of the border line along various courses is confirmed by the Yugoslav-Hungarian agreement of January 30th, 1954 on the restoration and putting up of frontier posts. Art. 1 of that agreement reads: „Both Governments, parties to the agreement, undertake to re-establish frontier posts in those sectors where the river courses mark the frontier line, putting up the posts on their territory in keeping with the official surveying documents". And further, in Art. 5 of the same Agreement: „In establishing the exact locations of the non-existent frontier posts, the technical groups will in every respect adhere to the documents of the International Commission for Border Delimitation of 1921 and 1922, which worked on the basis of the Treaty of Trianon."

Therefore it follows from both the existing official frontier documentation and past practice in the treatment of the frontier line along the river courses on the Yugoslav-Hungarian border, that it has always been considered permanent and unalterable.

III

The problem of the Mura and Drava river courses on those sectors which are followed by the border line, is for us rather a sensitive question, especially in Medžumurje. The Mura and Drava rivers have a very inconstant course, they change their beds, and their general tendency is to deviate more towards our territory. This deviation of the Mura and Drava rivers to our detriment has been intensified because of numerous hydro-technical works which the Hungarians carried out in the past on their side of the rivers. For decades the Mura has been carrying away dozens and dozens of hectares of the peasants' best land.

Before the war very little was done on the Yugoslav side for the curbing of the Mura river. However, during



the last few years we have taken measures for the strengthening of our banks with a view to restraining the Mura waters.

According to the last surveys of the Mura river frontier course, carried out by Yugoslav topographers, the Mura has passed completely, that is, on both of its banks, on to our territory on total length of about 22 kilometres, and on to the Hungarian territory on a total length of about 17 kilometres, thus creating on both sides a series of smaller bridgeheads and sand islands.

It should be pointed out here that the population of our frontier villages already suffered substantial losses when the Mura river was taken as the border line between the two countries. On the other side of Mura there remained, in addition to many villages with a compact Yugoslav population, also numerous farms belonging to our peasants living near the frontier. (According to pre-war data, there were in Medjumurje together with Prekomurje 2,516 families whose farms were located on the other bank of the Mura in Hungary, as against 401 Hungarian families whose land was on Yugoslav territory. Since 1948 the owners of these farms, Yugoslav citizens, were denied access to their land on the other bank of the river which the Hungarian citizens are now tilling and using.)

On the Drava river, from the point where the Mura flows into it and all the way to Barcz, surveys are now being made by our topographers (only on those sectors where the water course directly marks the border), in order to determine how far the Drava has changed its course during the last 23 years, i. e. since the last re-adjustment of the frontier line (1932). According to data available so far, it follows that considerable changes have occurred on this sector of the Drava river. (As regards owners with land located on both sides of the border, there were in Podravina, according to pre-war data, 771 Yugoslav families with property across the Drava in Hungary, as against 438 Hungarian families who had property on our side).

As stated above, on this part of the Drava river, the border line runs only in some places along the water course. In contrast to Medjumurje where the Mura river was taken as the border line, regardless of the ethnic composition of the villages on either side of the frontier on the river, this sector of the Drava was fixed, on the insistence of the Yugoslav delegation, along the old administrative border between Croatia and Hungary, which for the most part runs along the former course of the Drava river, and its arms, thus creating a series of bridgeheads — a border which as a whole is much more favourable for Yugoslavia.

However, on the Drava sector from Barcz downstream which is considered navigable, the International Commission decided that the frontier line should run along the middle line of the navigable course (Thalweg) — i. e. that the Drava river should be the border between the two countries (the same as on the Mura river).

On this sector of the Drava river, i. e. from Barcz downstream, considerable changes have likewise taken place. According to the latest surveys carried out at this sector on a length of about 48 kilometres, the Drava erodes the Yugoslav bank on a length of about 18 kilometres, while on the Hungarian side it erodes the bank on a length of about 10 kilometres. In this sector the Drava carried away about 180 hectares of Yugoslav territory.

There are some places from Barcz downstream where the Drava with both its banks passed over to the Yugoslav and Hungarian sides respectively. As on this sector the Drava is considered navigable, this question will probably have to be settled by separate mutual agreements bearing in mind the need of both countries for the maintenance of navigability.

But here too the frontier line, as established in the official documents, should be considered permanent and unalterable regardless of the changes in the river course.



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WORLD AND NUCLEAR ENERGY

From Faraday to Curie and After

SOME MORAL AND TECHNICAL CONSIDERATIONS

by Hans THIRRING

PROFESSOR OF THE UNIVERSITY IN VIENNA



ON MARCH 14, 1954, the fishing boat „Fukuryu Maru” landed in its home port, Yaizu. The crew consisted of twenty-three men, who had suffered radio-active burns while at work two weeks earlier, around the Marshall Islands in the Pacific Ocean. The tales they told, the gravity of their disease, the tragic end some of them were to meet, and the shocking discovery that the entire load of fish they were carrying on board had been poisoned by radio-activity — all this seemed to startle world opinion to some extent. This event, together with the report of the American Commission on Atomic Energy which revealed that the effects of the H-bomb explosion of March 1 had been much greater than anticipated, opened the layman's eye, the world over, to those fateful facts which to the expert have been familiar for a long time. The technique of destruction has advanced to such a point that the obsolete and barbaric method of resolving international conflicts by force of arms must be abandoned forthwith, our civilization is to be saved from suicide.

When, on March 1, the H-bomb — the most powerful that had been developed at that time — was exploded on the atoll of Bikini, the „Fukuryu Maru” was navigating at a distance of 71 sea miles from the center of the explosion. Two or three hours after the explosion a fine rain of dust came down on the boat. This was a part of the enormous dust cloud whirled up by the explosion and carried by stratospheric air currents, as chance willed, in the direction of the boat. It consisted mostly of pulverized lagoon material which had been the basis of the coral reef, but it contained also radio-active materials, products of the explosion, and the radiation of these radio-active materials caused the doom of those mariners and fishermen.

Any one who light-heartedly repeats the old grandfather's saw that wars have always been and always will be, implying that the Cold War will finally be transformed into a Hot one, should try to imagine concretely what would happen if one single modern H-bomb were exploded high in the atmosphere over one of our big cities. First of all, the blast concussions, lethal radiation, and heat blasts would immediately kill all living beings in the more densely populated core of the city. Fire storms, kindled by the heat blast and fed by convection typhoons, would rage unrestrained, trapping the whole population in their gigantic furnaces. And while even the most effective air raids of the Second World War left the more distant suburbs of a town untouched, the action of a hydrogen bomb would extend to distances of about thirty miles from the center, kindling widespread forest fires and killing far distant eye-witnesses of the explosion by its deadly radiation. No one could think that the few human beings who might survive the moment of the explosion in particularly deep air-raid shelters would have a chance to live on, in the midst of such a disaster, for more than a week.

As late as 1939, an aggressor without moral scruples could count on his military superiority to protect his own country against destruction and to procure him victory, conquests, and material gain. During the first phase of the Second World War it seemed indeed as if such expectations were being fulfilled. But the progress of technique soon dispelled this illusion, and during the years which followed, the means of destruction have taken the lead

over the means of defense to a point where the suicidal character of a total conflict becomes ever more obvious. For this technique is not satisfied with the production of ever more effective bombs, as demonstrated so strikingly in the Bikini experiments, but it increases the reach of long-distance bombers and remote controlled rockets, capable of carrying H-bombs to their destination over distances of many thousand miles. And these rockets travel at such altitudes that any defensive measures, whether through planes or anti-aircraft ground forces, must remain completely ineffective.

However well-armed and aggressive a state may be, it cannot succeed in present conditions in finishing off its adversary with one blow and for good. Any great power, even if attacked by surprise and hit fatally, would find time, before collapsing, for the no less fatal counterblow. It is likely that in the near future armed preparedness will reach a point where each one of the major powers will have at its disposal enough H-bombs and remote-controlled missiles to destroy every city and every industrial plant of the adversary. But no power can destroy at the same time all the bases from which a possible counter-attack could be launched. These are spread out over various continents and thus more difficult to eliminate. Of two men engaged in a duel, he who shoots first has the advantage of disabling his adversary. The first blow in the fight between great powers prepared to counter-attack offers no such advantage. In a world armed with hydrogen bombs military aggression therefore would not only be mass murder but also total suicide.

Considerations of this kind led President Eisenhower to make his famous speech of December 8, 1953, before the Assembly of the United Nations. After a dramatic description of the destructive power of atomic weapons, he launched a new proposal for peaceful collaboration in the field of atomic energy. The gist of this proposal was the foundation of a kind of atom world-bank, and all nations were invited to join it. This agency should have a supranational administration, and every member nation should contribute the necessary raw materials (uranium and thorium). It should provide a common platform on which today's hostile competition in the production of destructive weapons would be replaced by a collaboration in the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Technical developments along these lines will bring progress in two quite different spheres. This we can predict from our present state of knowledge.

One of the two great aims is the use of atomic energy as a new source of electricity. Electric energy is today one of the most urgent requirements of our civilization. Its importance is surpassed only by that of food. Cheap electric power reduces the cost of production of all consumers' goods and thus contributes to the raising of our standards of living. At the present stage of technical development, more than three fourths of the world's requirements of heat and energy are covered by fossil combustible materials like coal and petroleum; which we are consuming at a frantic speed. The remains of organic life, which Nature has transformed into combustible material and stored for us over millions of years, are now being consumed in the course of a few generations so that the

next decades already may bring the exhaustion of our petroleum reserves, and we have to expect a severe scarcity of coal before the twenty-first century draws to a close. Only a minimal fraction of the energy which will thus be lost can be replaced from the remaining conventional sources of energy, such as combustible wood, solar energy, wind or water power. Only few countries, particularly favored by nature, such as Norway and Austria, will be in a position to satisfy almost all their energy requirements, by converting the power of their rivers and waterfalls into electricity. Within the power economy of the world as a whole, hydro-electricity does not occupy more than a fraction of one percent, and the remaining sources which are often mentioned, based on the energy of the tides, winds, etc., amount to even less. Without the possibility, discovered just in time, of extracting incredible masses of energy from uranium and probably from thorium by the fission of the atomic nucleus, our civilization would have had to face, sooner or later, complete material bankruptcy. It is essential that the technique of installing great atomic power plants for the production of electricity be developed in good time, before the inevitable scarcity of fossil combustible material becomes a reality.

Quite apart from the question of power production the use of atomic energy opens up interesting possibilities, the exploitation of which is as yet at a very immature stage of development. Since about forty years ago it has been known that chemical elements are mixtures of different kinds of atoms with different weights. The atoms which constitute a certain element, and differ from one another only by their weight or mass, are called the isotopes of that element. Since about twenty years ago it has been known, furthermore, that it is possible to transform the atom and thus to produce artificial isotopes of all ordinary elements. These artificial isotopes, however, are radio-active, i. e., they disintegrate while sending out radioactive radiation. Since about ten years ago it has been possible to produce radio-active isotopes on such a scale that they can be exploited technically. They are produced in the so-called reactors, where the fission of uranium atom takes place. Radio-active isotopes are used both by science — especially for medical and biological research — and industry, and their importance grows from year to year. Now it should be noted that the great technical implications of new scientific discoveries always take some time to be fully realized. It is only twenty years since the Joliot-Curie couple discovered in Paris the artificial radio-active isotope. About a century before, Faraday had discovered in London the phenomenon of electromagnetic induction, which is the foundation of the production of electricity and of our electric era with all it contains. We cannot imagine today a civilization without any electricity, and human society in our civilized states would perish, literally, if it were condemned to renounce the use of all installations and gadgets which are based on Faraday's law of induction. But twenty years after Faraday's discovery, i. e., in 1852, techniques based on his law had not reached any practical importance, so that it would have been quite easy at that time to renounce the use of electricity. In what concerns the practical use of atomic energy we are today approximately at the point where our civilization was in 1852 with regard to electricity: there were no generators at that time, no electromotors and therefore no electric trains, no electric lights, no telephone, no radio: in short, none of the things which have become parts of our daily life. It is quite likely that the application of atomic energy will revolutionize everyday life during the next hundred years just as electricity did during the last century.

But this is not the essential point. For material progress will raise our standards of living, will create new commodities, will contribute to the production of better and cheaper consumers' goods; but it will not contribute in the same measure to making men better and happier. Considered from a more elevated point of view, human welfare does not depend on whether we shall have still speedier cars and planes, till louder amplifiers and yet brighter lights than today. It depends on something of a quite different order. The essential question is: how soon shall we be able to overcome the obsolete, primitive status of our society, in which the superfluous, petty quarrelsomeness of men, beginning with the inner conflicts of the frustrated individual and ending with artificially kindled and fanned international conflicts, bring more

misery upon mankind than all those inevitable sufferings which are caused by natural catastrophes, evil chance or other blows of an extrinsic destiny. Paradoxical as may sound, the negative aspect of atomic energy, the threat of total destruction, is therefore far more important than its positive side. Surely it would be important to have more electricity and motor power, more heat for industrial and domestic uses. But it is far more important to do away with the old spirit, or rather, unspirit of national egotism and national vanity, of hatred among peoples, races and classes. Only the awareness of the fatal danger we would run in bringing these conflicts to a head can induce mankind to abandon the petty quarrels between various political groups and subgroups. For our grandfathers and great-grandfathers was still possible to idolize power, and to solve their problems by force. Today the survival of mankind is at stake. Shall we finally honor the commandment, „Thou shalt not kill!" or shall we destroy ourselves in the inferno of an atomic war and yield to termites or other insects the dominion of our planet? In the face of this imminent danger we shall have to develop a new sense of duty and responsibility toward our own people and toward mankind, and no one in the long run will resist the basic truth that the over-busy advocates of group interests will be the grave diggers of these interests; that the blind fanatics who, insensate and dumb, want their own way at any price, are enemies of mankind and enemies of their own group as well.

If, after the liquidation of the Cold War, we shall be able to tell ourselves, in a few years: We've been lucky once more: then it will be likely for our children and grandchildren to live to see a happier era than has been ours. But not, perhaps, because there will be more electricity or motor power at that time, but because they will have abandoned the obsolete adoration of power, the childish ambition of military power and, as time goes by, also the vanities and silliness of individuals in a society mired in conventionalities. Men will see the light with regard to the emptiness and transience of the ancient hero ideals and war aims, when they take notice of the fact that Germany, forced ten years ago to unconditional surrender, today is sounder and stronger in many respects than many of the Allied Nations who had won on the battlefield the greatest victory of world history. Step by step we will begin, not to learn history, but to learn from history and to deduce preventive measures from what we have learned. Mr. Thomas Murray of the American Commission on Atomic Energy proposed to invite the world's leading politicians as eye-witnesses to a major H-bomb explosion. The organizers of military conventions and fraternal evenings might be invited as well, for them to see that the time of soldierly romanticism is a thing of the past, a museum piece, just like the campfire or the war hatchet of the cowboy-and-Indian stories. Those are no longer the best servants of their country who blindly obey the call of the fatherland and gird their sword and mount their horse, but those who do productive work.

The important aspect of Eisenhower's proposal is not the material advantage mankind may gain from atomic technique, but the step from hostile competition in secret darkness to friendly collaboration in full day light. It is not an increase in electric energy that will usher in the golden age but the increase in human energy, applied no longer to a fight of all against all, but to the common fight against misery and for the improvement of living conditions. What matters is that the positive instincts which exist in the overwhelming majority of mankind, are no longer distorted by mistaken indoctrinations but guided, at last, by a spirit of mutual aid and intelligent cooperation, so that men become aware of their duty toward humanity and will see in war nothing but an abominable crime.





Possibilities of Broader Cooperation

by Dr. Robert SCHEU

ECONOMIST, AUSTRIA

GEOPOLITICAL areas are not the result of mere accident or pure arbitrariness; their existence is due exclusively to the realistic economic conditions and mutual understanding based on age-long traditions. These premises are also valid for the Danubian area today, especially for Austria and Yugoslavia. An important role is played here not only by economic tradition and countless personal ties between the economic representatives of the two countries, but also — and this is of decisive significance — by the fact that both countries are mutually complementing each other's economic structure, so that they are partners capable of a lively goods exchange and a wider economic cooperation. This fact has been proved with special clarity during the last few years, as with none of other commercial partners has Austria made such far-reaching plans for economic cooperation as with Yugoslavia. If we calmly analyse the existing state of affairs, we must realize that the sincere wish of both countries for stronger economic links has not been able to follow the rhythm of the actual developments imposed by the real situation.

Before the war, Austro-Yugoslav commercial relations were characterized on the one hand by the export of Austrian finished products in Yugoslavia, and on the other hand, by the import of Yugoslav farm products and raw materials in Austria.

Directly after the war Yugoslavia undertook the building of her own industry which called for a change in the structure of her exports, and created the need to import large quantities of investment goods.

This reorientation process which the Austrian economy fully understands, was bound to lead to a sensible decline in the volume of trade on both sides. However, the last few years have been marked by a tendency to increase mutual trade exchanges, which shows that only temporary difficulties had been involved — that it will be possible to remove gradually with good will. Such development was certainly helped by the very fruitful cooperation established between the Yugoslav Chamber of Foreign Trade and the Austrian Federal Chamber of Commerce. A year and a half ago committees were set up in both chambers of commerce to discuss the existing problems with the representatives of both economies, and seek ways and means to solve them. The two chambers also examined the possibilities for industrial cooperation and several of the projects thus elaborated actually materialized. The talks conducted so far between the chambers of both countries led to a significant revival and deepening of personal contacts between the representatives of both economies so that better understanding was ensured. The Austrian Federal Chamber of Commerce devoted special attention to a study of the Yugoslav market and opened two foreign-trade bureaus, one in Belgrade and the other in Zagreb. It should be pointed out that none of the European countries — except Italy — has more than one agency representing its foreign trade.

The Austrian Federal Chamber of Commerce sends every year an important group of Austrian exhibitors to the fair which is held in Zagreb in the fall. At these collective exhibitions one can also see certain articles for whose placing no concrete possibilities exist for the time being. Thus the Austrian economy clearly shows that, despite

present difficulties, it considers Yugoslavia one of its important markets.

The chief problem in the current Austro-Yugoslav trade is the permanent and considerable Austrian export surplus. This export surplus is exclusively the result of the decline of the Yugoslav imports which in 1954 amounted to only 2.6% of the total Austrian imports, as against 7.9% in the same period in 1937. The participation of Austrian supplies in the total amount of Austrian exports in Yugoslavia declined from 5.5% in 1937 to 4% last year. When examining the trade exchanges according to countries of origin and destination, one finds that the Austrian export surplus amounted to 7.4 million dollars in 1954. However, it turned out that possibilities for the reduction of the favourable Austrian balance by transit supplies are already being partially utilized — this theme was constantly on the agenda of the talks between the two Chambers of Commerce, — so that the traffic — calculated according to countries with which commercial business has been transacted, and not according to countries of origin and destination — showed last year a favourable Austrian balance of 5 million dollars. This development is even more apparent in the first quarter of 1955, when the goods traffic according to countries of origin and destination, showed that Austria had a favourable balance of 2.6 million dollars, a balance which is reduced to 600,000 dollars when goods exchanges are considered according to countries with which business was actually transacted.

Despite this fact, the existence of the favourable Austrian balance remains the chief problem raised by the mutual commercial relations between the two countries, all the more so as Austria hopes to increase her imports to Yugoslavia. All the necessary prerequisites exist for the realization of this as a long-term project. Austrian economy is aware that because of bilateral calculations the expansion of her exports still depends on a corresponding increase of her imports from Yugoslavia, and consequently takes an absolutely positive attitude towards all the efforts of Yugoslavia to increase the amount of goods exported to Austria. Austrian good will cannot be doubted.

However, it should be constantly emphasized that Austria, as a member of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, has now liberalized 85% of her imports as a result of which the scene of the sharpest international competition prevails on the Austrian market. In the healthy climate of free competition which has considerably contributed to the development of our economy what is ultimately decisive is the price, quality and delivery conditions. The Austrian importer today is compelled to wage a hard competitive struggle to the extent of accepting the most favourable offer so that in the end figures are decisive factors. However the Austrian economy is convinced that the difficulties which have cropped up as a result of the internal reorientation process in Yugoslavia, aggravated by bad harvests, will be gradually eliminated. Only then will it be possible for the two countries to start intensified economic exchanges.

The efforts of Yugoslavia to build up her industry can in no case lead to a decline in the volume of trade. On the contrary: the fact that traffic between economically developed countries is far more intense than is the case with countries whose economy has not reached a

corresponding level of development, will also play its part in Austro-Yugoslav trade. The economic development of Yugoslavia will certainly contribute on the one hand to the increase of the supply potential and, on the other, to the strengthening of the consumer forces due to the

improvement of the standard of living. In view of the very favourable prospects are opening for both the future development of goods exchanges and economic cooperation, from which both national economies can only realize benefits.

Yugoslav-French Economic Agreements

by Dr. Milan ALEKSIC

SECRETARY OF THE FEDERAL CHAMBER OF FOREIGN TRADE

It cannot be said that efforts to expand trade between Yugoslavia and France after the Second World War have not been made on both sides. At the beginning of 1946 already a Yugoslav economic mission visited France, and so made it possible to start exchanges between the two countries on the basis of a temporary arrangement. A regular trade agreement was signed by France and Yugoslavia in 1947, and also a payments agreement later in the same year. These contractual instruments then laid the foundations for regular trade after the war. From year to year the validity of the agreements was extended and, when it became necessary, they were renewed. In 1951, in addition to the renewing of the trade agreement, arrangements on the compensation of the nationalized French property in Yugoslavia and on the public post-war debts were also concluded. At the same time, a special agreement on French deliveries of products, mainly military equipment, which provided for certain facilities in payments, was signed.

Owing to these agreements, as well as to the increased interest of both markets in developing mutual exchanges, results were soon forthcoming. The volume of Yugoslav exports, whose average yearly value before the war amounted to about 2.3 million dollars, i. e. only 2.5% of the total value of Yugoslav exports, was increased in the period from 1948 to 1953 from 8 to 10 million dollars. Before the war the volume of Yugoslav imports from France was smaller than the volume of exports, Yugoslavia then imported about 2.4 million dollars worth of French goods every year, or about 2.6% of the total value of Yugoslav imports. After the war the volume of Yugoslav imports from France was greatly increased, so that it was in a disproportion with Yugoslavia's exports to France. This particularly holds good for the years following 1951, that is for the years since tripartite economic assistance began functioning, to which, in addition to the United States and Britain, France also contributed. Thus, while the average yearly volume of imports in 1948, 1949, and 1950 was more or less in balance with the volume of exports to France, and amounted to the value of 8 to 10 million dollars, its yearly value was increased in the years between 1951 and 1954 to over 20 million dollars, and the volume of exports remained at about the same level.

But, in spite of this increase in Yugoslav-French trade in the post-war period, the development of economic relations between the two countries has not kept in step with the general development of good relations upon which the friendship of the two peoples is based. Therefore, wishing to improve their economic relations and bring them in accord with their cooperation in other spheres of activity, both countries took some useful steps this year. M. Pierre Abelin, State Secretary in the French Ministry for National Economy, visited Belgrade at the head of a French economic delegation on June 10, 11, and 12 this year. During this visit he and the other French delegates talked with Yugoslav representatives about the possibilities for expanding economic relations between Yugoslavia and France. M. Pierre Abelin and Osman Karabegović, member of the Federal Executive Council, then signed a protocol on these talks.

As it was agreed during this visit, a Yugoslav economic delegation, headed by Hasan Brkić, the State Un-

der-secretary for Foreign Affairs, went to Paris in the first half of July to continue the talks on concrete aims. The talks were concluded successfully and several agreements signed on July 27. M. Abelin and Mr. Brkić signed a Trade Agreement for the period from July 1, 1955 to July 30, 1956, an Agreement on Economic Cooperation and a Protocol on the Settlement of French financial claims.

This summary review gives a picture of the Franco-Yugoslav trade exchanges. It shows that in the last several years the volume of Yugoslav exports to France has been much smaller than the volume of Yugoslav imports from that country. This was the chief reason why all discussions which preceded the concluding of the new trade agreements were devoted to the question of increasing Yugoslav exports to the French market. In connection with this, it was said many times in the past that the economies of France and Yugoslavia are not fully complementary, and that France is not in a position to absorb further quantities of Yugoslav products. It was often stressed that France, although a highly developed industrial country, has also very wealthy and advanced agriculture. She is not only a great producer, but also an exporter of agricultural products, which constitute more than half of her Yugoslav exports. The same can be said of the industrial products which Yugoslavia produces and sells on foreign markets. It was mentioned, it is true, that France, owing to her complete economy, was in the same situation in relation to other countries with which she maintains trading connections. And this is perhaps the reason why France, otherwise a country, which was leading the world in backing up progressive ideas for the advance of the community, today imposes so many restrictions and protective measures in the field of trade with foreign countries. Owing to the development of the productive forces and contemporary social relations in the international field her foreign trade policy has been questioned, and it is subjected to sharp criticism by the Organization for European Economic Cooperation in its report on the Situation and Problems of French Economy in 1954: "Modern economic activities in France", it is said in the report, "remained insufficiently developed because they are restricted by tariffs, contingents and public and secret conventions".

This system of administrative control and restriction affected Yugoslavia to a greater extent than the countries of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, whose exports to France are given extra facilities. Therefore, in negotiating the new trade agreements, the prevalent opinion was that the increasing of Yugoslav exports to France can be achieved by removing the administrative control and by lifting the restrictions which have been obstructing the initiative and actions of exporters and importers. The new trade agreements, as we see, are a result of a more liberal conception, in accordance with which trade exchanges between countries whose economies are not fully complementary should be conducted in an active manner. For it is held that exchanges of similar goods between any two countries can contribute to the expansion of their home product markets.

As we have seen, the yearly value of Yugoslav exports to France in the last several years was not higher than 8 to 10 million dollars. In 1951, when trade and economic agreements created more favourable conditions, the volume

Our exports was 9 million dollars as compared with 5.5 million a year earlier, in 1950. In 1952 the value of exports reached the highest level, 12 million dollars, but in 1953 and 1954 it was decreased to 7 and 7.4 million dollars respectively. On the other hand, the value of our imports from France in the last four years was very high. It amounted to 10 million dollars in 1951, then jumped to 28.5 million dollars in 1952, to 29.8 in 1953 and was decreased to 19.1 million dollars in 1954.

The difference between the value of exports and imports was partially covered by funds received on account of the French share of the tripartite assistance (in 1951, 1952, 1953 and 1954 Yugoslavia used 3.5, 10, 8, and 6.5 million dollars from this assistance for the import of French products), and partially by a loan received from the International Bank, as well as by short term credits procured in France. But, in spite of all these loans and assistance, Yugoslavia was forced to pay for a part of her trade debts to France in dollars, pounds sterling and other currencies.

Under the new trade agreements Yugoslavia will export to France some new products and greater quantities of commodities whose export to France and the countries of the French Union was earlier restricted by various administrative measures. The commodities which will be exported in greater quantities are agricultural and food products, tobacco, hemp, flax, hides and leather, building materials, wood products, metals and non-metals, as well as various industrial products such as metal goods, electric materials, rubber goods, kitchen utensils and so on.

As far as French exports are concerned, the Agreement, paying attention to the Yugoslav import regulations, liberalizes the export of French products to Yugoslavia. This means that, with due regard to the structure of French exports, all French products will be able to be exported to Yugoslavia without any restrictions.

With the facilities provided for by the new agreement, the value of Franco-Yugoslav trade exchanges is to reach at least 40 million dollars a year. This expansion in trade is considered essential, since it is to prepare the way for cooperation of the two countries in other fields of economic activity as provided for by the Agreement on Economic Cooperation and Technical Assistance.

This agreement on economic cooperation and technical assistance creates new possibilities for cooperation in the field of industry, building, agriculture and transport. It provides for cooperation between enterprises and economic organizations of both countries on the building of new projects, on the expansion of the present industrial undertakings with the aim of increasing production, for exchanges of patents and licences and technical documentation, for technical assistance by enabling workers and students of one country to go for advanced training to the other, for exchanges of material needed in experimental institutes and so forth. A novelty in the agreement is the opening of possibilities for the enterprises of the two countries to cooperate in exploring foreign markets and in drawing up and constructing projects in foreign countries.

To realize this economic cooperation and technical assistance the Agreement sets up the necessary financial mechanisms. A working credit of 1.7 billion francs is to function for five years in favour of Yugoslav enterprises which might need funds in their cooperation with French companies. As far as technical assistance is concerned, it will be financed by a joint fund, to which France is to contribute 250 million francs and Yugoslavia 150 million dinars. The agreement provides for the establishment of a mixed Franco-Yugoslav committee for cooperation and technical assistance. The task of this committee will be to stimulate and study economic cooperation between the two countries and to forward recommendations for the use of funds which are to be provided for the needs of this cooperation.

The Protocol on the Settlement of French Financial Claims is just as significant as the discussed agreements. Under this protocol Yugoslavia agreed to use a definite percentage of the value of her exports to France for the compensation of the nationalized French property in Yugoslavia, and for paying off the pre-war Yugoslav debts. This protocol ensures, in a certain sense, the continued payment of the financial obligations which started under the financial agreement of April 1951.

No doubt the newly concluded agreements, together with this protocol, will contribute to create an atmosphere of mutual confidence and to increase the mutual wish for closer cooperation of the interested economic circles of Yugoslavia and France.

New Foreign Trade Regulations

by M. ANTIC

THE Decree on Foreign Trade¹⁾ which was recently promulgated, has given rise to numerous comments among business circles and economists throughout Yugoslavia. The reaction was varied and uneven, but, taken as a whole, it reflected the universal interest shown by the Yugoslav public concerning the problems of goods exchange and economic relations with foreign countries. This is understandable if one bears in mind that the Yugoslav public takes an active part in all manifestations of the country's economic life.

It is well-known that Yugoslav foreign trade in the post-war period went through several phases which were marked by essentially different characteristics both in form and content. It saw the rigid centralism of the years 1945—1948, when the whole foreign trade business bore the stamp of State monopoly; the gradual relaxation of centralistic fetters; and the new possibilities granted to the republican economies to organize independently definite spheres of foreign trade activity in the years 1948—1951; and the final adoption of the principles of decentralization and social management in economy — principles which, since 1952, have prevailed in the organization of goods exchanges with foreign countries. Such organizational de-

velopment of foreign trade came as a natural consequence of the general development of social relations in Yugoslavia. Experience and past practice have shown that many of the shortcomings and weaknesses which were revealed in relation with the implementation of definite organizational forms in the various phases of the organization of foreign trade arose chiefly from subjective factors, and could be explained, to a certain extent, by the relative backwardness of the country's whole economy. Today, however, there is no doubt that decentralization and the system of social management in the sphere of foreign trade, have been fully justified, so that all the critics who, because of the specific character of business transactions with foreign countries, advocated a return to centralism and the system of administrative control in the fields of export and import, had to yield to the argument of the indivisibility of the social organism in the process of democratic development. That is why steps have been taken for the strengthening of the democratic and liberal principles which are the very basis of the foreign-trade organization. That is why society has been mobilized, at the same time, to remove through organizational methods all negative consequences deriving from the uneven development of the productive forces, and to change a situation in which those who are engaged in foreign trade business are not always equipped with adequate knowledge and sometimes even lack other necessary moral and political qualities. The new Decree on foreign trade comes,

¹⁾ Official Gazette No. 25 of June 15th 1955.

therefore, as an instrument providing opportunities for a more active struggle against all harmful influences and tendencies.

The new Decree is not intended to define the principles of the foreign trade regime, nor to prescribe methods for use in business transactions with foreign countries. Its aim is primarily to improve foreign trade enterprises and, by laying down the conditions which must be fulfilled by these enterprises if they wish to conduct export and import business, to raise foreign trade to a higher level. Thus an opportunity is presented to all those — whether in the country or abroad — who are entering into business relations with the authorized Yugoslav foreign trade enterprises, to be guaranteed that their interests will be protected within the framework of the existing trade agreements.

Previous rules had already stipulated that export and import transactions, the representation of foreign firms, transport, international forwarding etc., could be conducted only by such enterprises as have been entered in the foreign trade register of the Foreign Trade Board. The criterion for acquiring the right to registration, however, was not particularly strict, so that many foreign trade enterprises were created in a short time, and many of these were not in a position to guarantee a satisfactory standard of activity. This was a negative aspect of decentralization in economy. When we add the fact that the concept of the relations between productive and commercial enterprises had not yet been properly elucidated at that time, that it had not been decided yet in what cases and in what manner foreign trade enterprises were to transact foreign trade on their own account, and when and in what forms they were to appear only as agents of industrial enterprises or productive cooperatives, then we get a certain picture of the irregularity of the foreign trade market thus created. Foreign firms had many difficulties in getting a correct orientation as to the quality of services and the guarantees they could expect from their Yugoslav business partners. Special difficulties arose from the fact that individual foreign merchants did not bother to acquaint themselves with the regulations stipulating who was entitled to transact foreign business in Yugoslavia, and entered into business obligations with enterprises or individuals who did not have the necessary authorizations. This resulted in a series of misunderstandings, an inability to fulfil obligations undertaken by agreements, disputes which had to be arbitrated, etc.

Already in 1954 energetic measures were taken (on the basis of the previous Decree on Foreign Trade) to regulate conditions in foreign trade business. Emphasis was laid on the so-called specialization of export-import enterprises and services. Foreign trade was divided into various branches, and foreign trade enterprises were asked to choose a basic branch as their special domain with one or, at the most, two related branches, so that in negotiating and concluding business with foreign firms, they had to limit themselves to a definite number of products included in the trade branches for which they had been registered. The value of this system lay in the fact that the activity of individual enterprises was confined to a narrower field and such enterprises were compelled to improve their organization and make a study of the goods in which they dealt. It turned out, however, that this system had certain shortcomings which called for rectification. It was found, in the first place, that it was difficult to make a sharp distinction in the nomenclatures of individual branches, so that the same products were sometimes included in two or more branches (for instance chemical, medical and pharmaceutical products, oil, liquid fuels and lubricants etc.). But even greater difficulties occurred when individual enterprises, which had been engaged previously in several important products out of a number of branches, and had a corresponding organization for them, were compelled to quit dealing with some of these products because these did not belong to related branches — and began to register for and deal in all articles for which they secured a right through registering in the corresponding branches. Thus in a certain sense, an opposite effect was obtained since instead of specialization in products which provided a narrower scope, enterprises started to orientate themselves towards a wider specialization according to branches, and this because most of the prescribed branches included a very wide nomenclature of products. Most important of all — the introduction of foreign trade branches

and the specialization of enterprises according to branches failed to bring about the realization of one of the basic aims — the reduction of the number of foreign trade enterprises. On the contrary, although the number of enterprises was reduced in definite sectors of foreign trade activity, with order restored on the market, other sectors saw the setting up of new enterprises while the total number of registered foreign trade enterprises in the country was not reduced, but on the contrary, somewhat increased.

On December 31st 1953, before the introduction of specialization according to branches, there were 499 foreign trade enterprises (282 commercial enterprises, 139 industrial firms acting as agents and 27 various other enterprises).

On April 1st 1955 following the introduction of specialization according to branches, there were 563 registered foreign trade enterprises. This number included 292 commercial enterprises, 148 industrial (which have the right to export only their own products and to import goods for the requirements of their own production), 53 firms acting as agents and 43 various other enterprises (transport, forwarding, tourist and similar enterprises). This increase in the total number of enterprises was partly the result of the incorporation into Yugoslavia of the former Zone B area, in which there were about 10 foreign trade enterprises registered as such.

In the course of the examination and analysis of both the positive and negative aspects of the introduction of specialization according to branches with a view to continue to improve the quality of work in foreign trade enterprises, the conclusion was reached that in the present situation steps should be taken to allow for some relaxation of the strict observation of the system of specialization according to branches and give enterprises an opportunity to deal in products other than those included in their branch whenever conditions favour such activities, to impose more rigorous general conditions and to lay down the criteria for the registration of new foreign trade enterprises, to check on the enterprises already registered and compel all enterprises to fulfil the new conditions.

The new Decree, with this end in view, rules that persons who conduct foreign trade business must have definite professional and moral qualifications for this work. A certain degree of education and practical training are required of the managing personnel and other employees of any foreign trade enterprise, according to their function and their responsibility; also they must have held corresponding jobs for a definite number of years, they must know one or more foreign languages, etc. Persons who have been criminally prosecuted and punished for infringement of existing regulations or for criminal actions cannot be employed in foreign trade enterprises until they are legally rehabilitated. A person who has been thus condemned to pay a fine in excess of 40,000 dinars cannot be employed in foreign trade enterprises for three years. Moreover, the new Decree stipulates that any enterprise wishing to engage in foreign trade must have an adequate internal organization and possess the technical means and equipment necessary to ensure lasting, regular and satisfactory business transactions concerning specific articles. Closely connected with this condition is the stipulation that the foundation of any foreign trade enterprise must be economically justified. The necessary investigation is conducted by the competent group of experts in the Federal Chamber of Foreign Trade, which gives its opinion on the matter. On this occasion such group examines whether it is necessary and justifiable to set up the new enterprise, from the viewpoint of production and general economic interest. The Foreign Trade Board, which keeps the foreign trade register, is called upon to ask for such opinion.

Furthermore, foreign trade organizations must fulfil prescribed financial conditions: i. e. they must be in a position to obtain credit, have permanently a reserve of a specified amount and make the required deposit in the bank.

All these conditions must be permanently observed by the economic enterprises which want to engage in foreign trade business on a permanent basis. If it is found that an enterprise no longer fulfils some of the prescribed conditions, it may be struck off the foreign trade register on the basis of a decision of the Honour Court attached to the Federal Chamber of Foreign Trade, so that it forfeits the right to conduct trade with foreign countries. Such enterprise may be partially struck off the Register, that is it may be forbidden to conduct business for definite products,

allowed only to deal in certain services. Of course, an economic organization may also be struck off the foreign trade register when its activity is damaging to the prestige or the interests of Yugoslavia's foreign trade and economy in general.

It is characteristic that the new Decree, besides stipulating conditions which tend to strengthen the organizational structure of foreign trade enterprises, also strengthens the role of social management organs in economy, such as the Federal Chamber of Foreign Trade. We have already said that this Chamber examines whether the creation of new foreign trade enterprises may be justified from the economic point of view and gives its opinion thereon and that its Court of Honour has a very significant function, i. e. to decide whether an enterprise should be struck off the foreign trade register, etc. It should be added that, under the new Decree, the Chamber has also special tasks in connection with the improvement of the quality of work in foreign trade. Thus the Federal Chamber of Foreign Trade

is authorized to determine and prescribe minimal export qualities and the manner of packing those products for which Yugoslav standards have not yet been set. These regulations will be compulsory for all exporters. It is also authorized to rule that individual export products must bear the indication of their quality and origin. The Federal Chamber of Foreign Trade thus acts as an active participant in the organization of foreign trade, and its decisions are binding.

There is no doubt that the will of the legislator, expressed through this new Decree, will contribute very effectively to the regulation and organizational strengthening of the foreign trade network, and hence to the improvement of the quality of Yugoslavia's foreign trade. For the rest, the will of the legislator in this case reflects only the will of the exporters and importers themselves and of all those who are directly or indirectly interested in the proper functioning of the Yugoslav foreign trade enterprises.

WORLD OF ART

Thomas Mann

IN MEMORIAM TO THE GREAT WRITER

by Oto BIHALJI-MERIN

THE news of the death of Thomas Mann has touched me deeply. Although he was an eighty year old man who had been ailing for some time, I took the news as a serious blow to the intellectual life of our times. I realized, with pain, that we had to take leave from his voice, which not only meant so much to me, but which was the voice of conscience and humanity in our difficult times.

I think that the work which he has left behind is the greatest and most complete monument of contemporary literature. When in May 1953 I talked with him in his villa at Erlenbach near Zurich and asked him whether he thought that there was somebody else's work so complete and significant as to deserve a mention along his own, he spoke of André Gide. I had long known how much he valued André Gide's love for truth, and how ready he had been to accept and endure the author's solitude. He was very much interested in the problem of the spiritual integrity of the intellectual towards society. Although he was brought up in the spirit of the 19th century civil liberties, his ideas went beyond such liberties, and he was fully aware that to support a just cause one must accept socialism and its aims.

„Buddenbrooks”, the great novel about social disintegration, made him famous all over the world. „The Magic Mountain”, a humane novel written in the middle period of the author's activity, is the most elaborate instrumentation of the German language after Goethe. „Joseph and his Brethren”, the powerful tetralogy on the early historical and mythological events, explains his self restraint, which helped him to break through the conventional limits of the novel and penetrate into new imaginary and creative spheres. „Doctor Faustus”, one of his latest works, is a tragical vision of an epoch, full of critical humanism and artistic originality.

Many things take place in „Buddenbrooks”, but the way in which they do occur seems close and familiar to us. In this work one notices motives of the French novel, elements of Balzac's skill in presenting genealogies and figures, of the master touches of the Goncourt Brothers and Flaubert, of the psychological narratives of Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, and of the quietness and melancholy of the

Scandinavian novel. And not only this spiritual transposition and transplantation to the Hanseatic conditions, but also the fateful interpretation of one's own ideas, of what is important, personal, intimate, and, at the same time, a general and true portrait of the German people.

By the time Thomas Mann wrote „The Magic Mountain”, he had overcome and raised himself above the conservative ideas which had come to expression in his essays on „Non-Political Thoughts.” In his treatises on „The German Republic” already he began to elaborate democratic ideas and humane principles, and that was the beginning of his political discussion about the soul of the West, which later became the main theme in „The Magic Mountain”.

With „Joseph and his Brethren” Thomas Mann wanted to write a novel and make a turn from the individual and personal to the typical and mythological. He wanted to express what had long been in his heart, what had always existed, what was constantly being revived; he wanted to follow the ancient events and introduce in them what exists at present. In this work the difference between „was” and „is” does not exist. He gave mythological permanency, not only to characters like Jacob and Joseph, but also to all those poor and unknown beings. The Tower of Babel and the Great Flood are not only ancient myths, but also things which take place at present, everlasting truths.

This was the time when many intellectuals and artists were being persecuted in Hitler's Germany, when Thomas Mann himself was expelled from the „German state community” and when his doctorate was annulled by the University of Bonn. Work on „Lotte in Weimar” began at this time. This psychological novel describes a reunion of Werther's Lotte with Goethe, and interprets the conflict between the freedom loving and humane spirit and the barbaric reality of fascist Germany.

„Doctor Faustus” is perhaps the deepest, most fundamental expression of the great imaginative and poetic symphony of Thomas Mann's ideas. Faust, the legendary ideal picture of the inquiring and dual German being, has been transformed through romanticism, Wilhelm's Empire and finally Hitler's time into a tragical parody. „Where the pride

of the intellect mates with spiritual senility and helplessness, there the devil himself abides".

When Thomas Mann was writing this novel, he followed the tragical struggle over Germany. This work represents his participation in that struggle. The combination of the fateful reality and historical events, of the mediaeval Faustian and present day evil spirits, created the soil — the only possible soil, it seems to me — upon which it was possible to write this work which depicts the strangely grotesque Walpurgis night of Hitler's time.

Yet Faust is not the last of Thomas Mann's works as it was the case with Goethe. After it came other novels and stories which showed that the author was active, would remain active as long as he lived, so that every new work of his made us expect new achievements.

The story about Felix Kruhl, the notorious character who accompanied the author almost all his life, sounds as one of the last accords written by Thomas Mann. It was a long time ago that this story came into my hands. I did not know what disturbed or attracted me most at first. It seems to me that, if I go deep enough into the story and listen, I can learn something about the mysteries of art, perhaps even the magic formula which creates life, artistic life which is, though made of words and thoughts, much stronger than I myself or other people who move about me with their conventions and illusions.

No surprises, no unexpected volcanic turns can be found in the road travelled by Thomas Mann. And yet, he is different in every one of his works. He does not repeat himself; he does not remain on conquered ground. His literary transformations and changes take place quietly as an internal necessity. In spite of their similar motives, there is an easily seen difference between "Buddenbrooks" and "The Magic Mountain". While writing "Death in Venice", Thomas Mann read Goethe every day so as to verify and compare his style with the development line of the German

epics. He read the same pages from "Die Wahlverwandtschaften" over and over again in order to free himself from naturalism. In "Buddenbrooks" the linguistic forms of naturalism prevail, but in "The Magic Mountain" it was already possible to discern new creative tendencies. With their classical and harmonic moderation, the language and forms in "Death in Venice" are similar to Goethe's. They, however, break through conventionality with their clearly artistic, and deeply psychological way of observation, and in many ways come close to Proust, although Thomas Mann was not acquainted with him at the time, but they are less diffuse in description and in interpreting nature, and are directed towards the magic time which is transformed into space where the spirit and forms of language move.

Almost all his stories, and even essays on artists and writers, but particularly great novels, contain concealed autobiographies of the author. He is the Tristan of the late bourgeois era, he is the Joseph who stands between the moral laws and the irresistible beauty of Mrs. Putifar, he is the Faust who gives his soul to the devil for the love of perfection in art. In the deep background, all his works concern himself; even the strangest character represents a magical connection between his own "I" and somebody else's — "poetry and truth".

This deep connection of art with necessity and the horrors of the world gave him the power of grasping and formulating the impossible on the purely aesthetic and rational platform. "What do we ever desire if not to create as much as possible? All endeavours which deserve to be called art reveal the striving for the best, the readiness to go to the limits and to do the utmost..."

This creative "I", consisting of the spirit and form of knowledge and poetry, projected into thousands of pages remains immortal. It acts authoritatively within the area where German word is spoken, but sounds powerfully and resonantly also in the broader orchestra of human thought and art.

First International Exhibition of Graphic Art in Ljubljana

by Aleksa ČELEBONOVIC

A SIGNIFICANT review of the work on engraving and etching in the world has been given at the First Ljubljana International Graphic Arts Exhibition this year. Together with other displays of the same kind, the organizing of this exhibition proved the increased interest, both of the public and of the artists in this expressive branch of arts. The Organization Committee now intends to renew the displays every third year, so that Ljubljana, which is the most important graphic art centre of Yugoslavia, will become one of the places in which engravers and etchers of all over the world will meet and compare their creations at regular intervals in the future. Ten or so prizes have been established which will regularly be awarded to the exhibitors by a committee of judges whose composition will be of an international character, and this year a fine catalogue has been issued in Serbo-Croat and French. The Organization Committee had secured for display, by way of individual invitations, and in some rare cases through delegation of artists by states, works by 158 artists from 22 countries. In view of this response from the artists, it will perhaps be of interest to examine briefly the development in engraving and etching to the present.

First of all we must note that the interest in etching and engraving has considerably grown in the last ten years, and that no comparable increase of the interest in this branch of art has taken place at any time before the Second World War. It can be said that this came as a result of the general increase in artistic activity and of the growth of the number of art lovers in a large number of countries, but we must not forget that the ratio of the artists who engage in etching and engraving to those who do not is today different than in earlier times — at least in places where art is well developed. This can be noticed every-

where, but it will suffice if we show it by mentioning the example of Paris, which is a centre of an international character. Earlier Segonzac was being mentioned as one of the rare among the great artists who was constantly engraving in copper. Today, however, we often meet prominent painters and sculptors who are excellent engravers and etchers. It is probable that the economic incentive was most responsible for this increased production of engravings and etchings. As the circle of art lovers grows, there are more and more people who cannot buy paintings by good artists for the decoration of their homes, but who are unwilling to compromise and get cheaper works of a doubtful value. Now, seeing that engravings and etchings are printed in more copies, these people are in a position to acquire, on much more favourable terms, original works by first class masters, and, at the same time, retain the advantages of a real collector, who looks for exceptional works himself. For, while machine editions of large colour reproduction are made only of very famous works, reproductions which show more or less the true conceptions of the works copied, original engravings and etchings, numbered and signed, remain to be component parts of the work of the artist who make them. However, it would be going too far to ascribe the development in engraving and etching only to the economic incentive, the more so since there were examples, particularly in the 17th and 18th centuries, which showed that economic benefits used to stimulate only the copying of famous paintings, while original engravings and etchings were very rare.

Today's increase in the activity of engravers and etchers must be ascribed, in addition to the economic, also to other more incentive. Modern artists maintain that all artists' works must correspond to the material on which they are

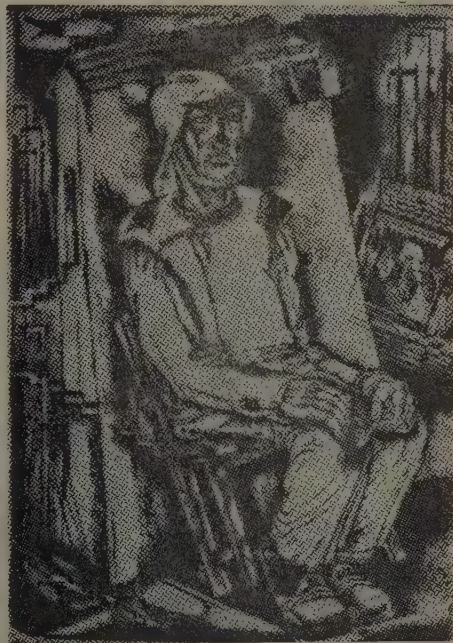
done. Henry Moore's sculptures and ideas about art are the most expressive example of this. For does not the material with which an engraver or etcher works, primarily his plates, give specific possibilities of expression? Does not the beauty of a print depend on the manner in which the artist succeeds in using the qualities of his material, in which we may include, apart from the plates, also his mechanical instruments, acids, colours and paper? The artist introduces in his conceptions also the elements of the materials with which he realizes his work: structure and resistance, smooth or rough surface, oily or dry appearance. In this way contemporary engravings, executed in variable material and in a large number of methods, represent a very attractive field in which the artist's ideas and conceptions can be realized. If the economic incentive has created possibilities for the development of engraving and etching, the artists have succeeded in introducing new forms in the old traditions, and so made of them suitable means for the expression of their contemporary ideas. The relation between engraving and painting can be best compared with the relation between mosaic and fresco painting in Byzantium, where work on frescoes started only when there were no possibilities for mosaic painting. But, the fresco painters of that time did not merely imitate mosaics — although some did — but found a new way of expression in this new technique, which was based on the skill shown in handling the brush.

Keeping in mind these two incentives, economic and aesthetic, and their influence on the development of the engraving and etching methods, we will be able to determine the position, in relation to painting, of a certain number of works displayed at the exhibition in Ljubljana. There are a number of first class colour prints, mostly lithographs, which, except in size, differ very little from the paintings of their authors. Without going into the evident value of their ideas and conceptions, which are always the result of the personality of their authors, we cannot but conclude that we cannot say anything more about the engravings and etchings of these artists than we would have to say about their paintings. There are many artists displaying in the Ecole de Paris Section who make Hartung, Leger, Menessier, Severini, and Singier. Others, we say this. They are Campigli, Clave, Esteve, Gischia, like Friedlaender, Landeck, Germaine Richier, express their conceptions in a specific form of engraving and etching which attracts particular attention — the black line. For them engravings and etchings remain to consist of lines, dots and smaller or bigger incisions, to which colour can be a useful addition, but never a basic element. When we speak only about the problems of engravings and etchings as such, trying to determine their particular qualities, we shall give the advantage to this idea.¹ But when we consider art, as thought and feeling, as the expression of an epoch and individual power, this somewhat dogmatic difference will not prevent us from enjoying the engravings and etchings of the first group of artists just as much as their paintings.

Once we are discussing the present day conceptions in art, let us review some of the most interesting works displayed at this exhibition. The Ecole de Paris Section is without any doubt most interesting, and it contains a large number of first class work. Massimo Campigli, in addition to his classical and Mediterranean qualities of measure and restraint in composition, always surprises with his humour. His brightness is evident in all his works. Similar to him, in method of execution, in reducing figurative elements, and in harmonizing reduced forms, is Mušić Junior, whose lithographs reveal softness in colour and form. Antoni Clave is quite different, and in the complex forms of his lithographs, which resemble very much the surface of paintings, reveals the in-

ternal striving of things. His prints show some affinities with Picasso and Rouault. Lucien Coutaud is a poet, who finds his rhythms in the sphere of surrealism, while our artist Max Ernst surprises with his inquiring and experimental note. Owing to their exceptional execution qualities, we can put Johnny Friedlaender, Germaine Richier and Zao Wou in the same category. The first is characterized by quietness and monumentality; the second by exciting imagination and passion; and the third seems to be trying to revive the fine Chinese traditions in the contemporary style. The abstract artists are well represented. Hans Hartung shows, with the clearness of conflict between free line and colour, that his paintings can be reproduced charmingly in engravings. Very similar to him is Berto Lardera. Menessier's forms revive, in a very similar manner, the precious tradition of the French masters, and Gustav Singier radiates optimism with his colours, while in form he could be likened to Miro. We must also mention the illustrations of Jean Piaubert for „33 sonnets composés au secret" by J. Cassou, which, with their geometric forms seen in semi-darkness, seem to renew, in a visual way, the metre of a powerful poem.

Among the well represented countries are Belgium, Switzerland and the United States. In addition to the very well known artists of the older generation, such as Cantre, Tytgat, and Mazereel, prominent in the Belgian section is Jean Jacques de Grave, whose engravings are characterized by powerful execution. In the Swiss section the attention is attracted by Brignoni, Hans Fischer, Patocchi and Pauli. The last is a convincing interpreter of social motives which are noted for their humane interest and extraordinary order in composition. The Americans may be put among those artists whose engravings and etchings reveal their national characteristics. Here and there we find their works very similar to those of Ben Shan, and, sometimes, also to those of Chagal, but they are all united by an expressiveness which does not neglect detail and sharpness, and which is not afraid of being unpleasant. One could even speak of their literary eccentricity, not in a bad sense, whenever this expressiveness is backed up by high qualities in style. Baskin, Frascioni and Misch Kohn are particularly noticed in this respect. In contrast to his countrymen's interest in social motives, Armin Landeck's works are interesting for their conception of space, which we could define as a construction on the basis of light. The artist is, by his technique, an excellent engraver.



Nicola Ekman (France): „The Fisher"

¹ The Committee of Judges, paying attention to the quality of works, has awarded prizes to the following artists, thus paying tribute to those who introduce new, fresh forces in contemporary engraving and etching: Armin LANDECK (250,000 din.), France MIHELIC (200,000 din.), Fritz PAULI (100,000 din.), Heinz KLIEMANN (100,000 din.), Lojze SPACAL (100,000 din.), Anthony GROSS (75,000 din.), Johnny FRIEDLANDER (75,000 din.), Jean Jacques de GRAVE (75,000 din.), Voito VIKAINEN (50,000 din.), Germaine RICHIER (Le Prix d'Honneur du Comité d'organisation).

Great Britain is not so well represented when we think how variable and worthy plates her engravers and etchers have produced. Yet, the presence of Anthony Gross and Ben Nicholson, together with Henry Moore's engravings, which, however, we take rather as meditations accompanying his sculpture, is a significant contribution to the exhibition. The Finnish artists display only wood engravings. Wood is the material with which they like to express themselves, and they like to use its nervures. We notice particularly Erkki Hervö and Voito Vika-inen. Apart from the Ecole de Paris, France is also represented, but not widely. There are, in addition to others, Yves Alix, Edouard Goerg and Jacques Bulaire. In the Italian section of the exhibition Santomaso shows a tendency to use the results of his abstract paintings in certain contracted figurative forms. Lojze Spacal displays colour plates. In these he links his exceptional decorative ability with the poetry whose origin we find in the one time "magic realism". Giuseppe Viviani has remained faithful in his engravings to the magic word of his paintings inspired by the sea coast, which are attractive in their quietness and unobtrusiveness. The Japanese artists Komai, Munakata and Sekino show a tendency to revive the art of their forefathers in contemporary forms. Rupert Sheppard, of South Africa, displays works which are illustrative in conception, but pleasant and attractive. Of the West German artists particularly noticed are Heinz Kliemann with his colour temperament and engraving rhythms expressed in landscapes, and Hans Orlowski with his poetry of spontaneous drawing.

The Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania and Poland are each represented by three artists. Under the burden of realism, their works often reveal mere illustrations, and, in some cases, good workmanship in the service of an uncertain taste. Most attention is drawn by Andrzej Rudzinski with the life-like atmosphere in his rural scenes, which are well differentiated in lines.

Works in the Yugoslav section of the exhibition are characterized by certain joint qualities. Namely, most artists

exhibiting their works here are men who do not go in for unfigurative forms or for mere decoration. However, it cannot be said that, in any given case, the figurative character of their conceptions has taken them within the limits of anecdote or illustration. Most often their ideas are expressed through reduced visions of natural scenes so as to emphasize a given human problem. Particularly expressive are the works of France Mihelič. Carnival costumes in the village supplied him with the first material for his grotesque forms, with which he goes some way into surrealism. Mladen Srbinović, inspired by the poetry of Garcia Lorca, has developed a spontaneous drawing with dramatic accents. There are a number of artists whose works show that worthy results have been achieved by Yugoslav engravers and etchers. Artists from Austria, Denmark, Canada, Holland and Turkey are also exhibiting their works in Ljubljana.

An exhibition of 700 prints by selected authors is where various artistic conceptions can be seen, compared and discussed. While in the exhibition halls, one cannot but ask and try to find out which prints are good, which are incorrect, which represent the strivings of our time, and which are merely reflections of the past ages. In all this one thing is certain, and that is, that the variety of work is the most eloquent expression of our time, since it is this variety by which our time differs from all earlier periods. Consequently, our time does not tolerate imitation. Every artist who creates at the same time expresses a definite conception of the world. The lack of such a conception is the lack of artistic truth. For, to paraphrase Goethe's thought, just as man is the product of nature, so the human creation is the continuation of nature in its further phase. Only by revealing what is in a man when thought and feelings are being given definite forms — only revealing that microcosm is it possible — as Faust would say — to get a picture of the world, of that macrocosm. Art in this is not inferior to science. On the contrary, they advance step in step although in a different field and by different methods.



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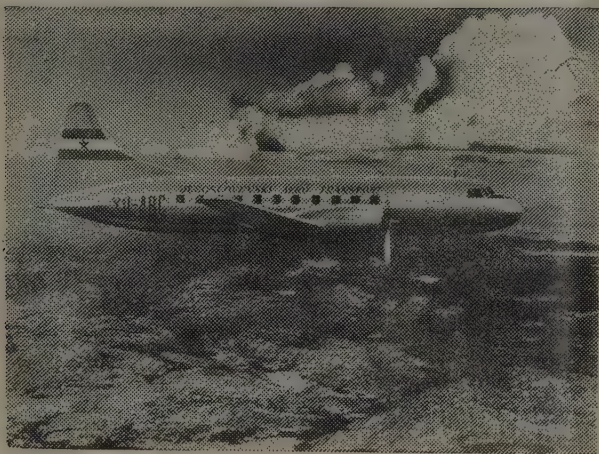


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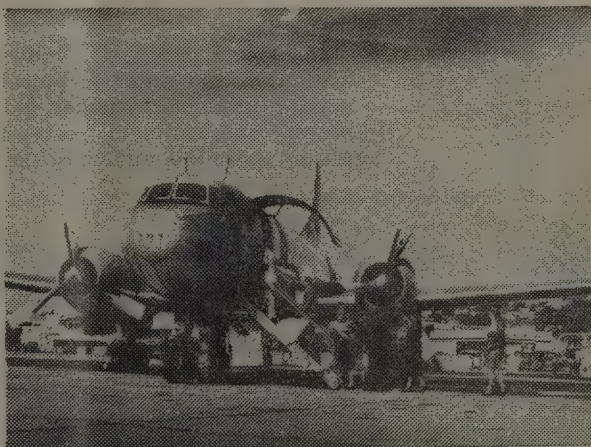
Among the planes used for long
flights Convair 340 is one of the
most modern double-engined pas-
senger planes, not only because of
its speed and comfort, but also
because of its modern structure.

During the last years the Yugoslav
Airlines developed its internatio-
nal network and is maintaining
daily services for England, Fran-
ce, Germany, Austria, Switzerland,
Turkey, the Lebanon, and Egypt.

By Yugoslav Airlines Convairs you
can reach in the quickest way
Cairo from London, and Beyro-
uth from Paris.

Fly with the Yugoslav Airlines pla-
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You will enjoy your travel
Yugoslav planelines mean:
SPEED, COMFORT, and SAFETY.



TEHNOHEMIJA

BEOGRAD — KARAĐORĐEVA 44 P.O. BOX 66

Cable: TEHNOHEMIJA Beograd — Phone: 29-700, 25-220, 26-465

EXPORT-IMPORT

WE IMPORT, EXPORT AND STOCK

CHEMICAL PRODUCTS:

Inorganic elements (sulphur, phosphor, etc.); other metaloids and metals, inorganic acids, alkaline and salts; organic compounds of all kinds; essential oils of all kinds; liqueur essences, candies, etc.; resins and waxes; compressed gasses; aniline dyes, pigments and other dyes; paints and varnishes of both foreign and domestic production; abrasives; industry utensils as well as all other chemical products not mentioned above.

NON-METALS AND THEIR PRODUCTS:

Raw asbestos, special asbestos fibre, asbestos yarn, asbestos fabric, braids and gaskets, „Klingerit“ and „Ferodo“ belts, „Manloch“ bands, vulcanised fibre, „Pertinax“, electric insulation material as well as all other unspecified material for insulation and sealing. Special fabrics and textile tubing, hempen products for industry, felt, jute and other textile materials for technical purposes.

RUBBER AND PLASTIC MATERIALS:

Gum, lastex and their products. Rubber belts, V-belts, rubber discs for insulation and other technical purposes, rubber and lastex tubing and similar products. Rubber gloves for high tension. Polyvinyl, chloride, polystyrene, celluloid, acetyl-celluloid, bakelites, aminoplastics and other plastic materials and their products. Cellophane.

LEATHER AND LEATHER GOODS:

All kinds of leather products for industry. All sizes of belts, leather aprons, leather mining helmets, etc.

M O R A V A

EXPORT-IMPORT

B E O G R A D

Kolarčeva 1/II

Phone 26-391

P.O. Box 711

EXPORTS:

Sawn timber, logs and final wood products,
dry distillates, chemical products and straw.

M O R A V A

Mohamed Ebrahim Nashar

IMPORTER, EXPORTER, MANUFACTURER'S

Telegraphic Address:

»NASHAR«

Codes Used

A. B. C. 6 th & 7 th

EDITIONS

Bently & Acme

Marks M. E. N.

&

Commission Agent

Jedah - Hejaz

(Saudi Arabia)

P. O. Box — 79

Reference

Banque de l' Indochine

JEDDAH



Mohamed Ebrahim Nashar

Importer, Exporter

Manufacturer & Commission Agent

Jeddah — Hejaz

(Saudi Arabia)

Telegraphic address : NASHAR JEDDAH

Representative of the following Organizations in Saudi Arabia



1) Messrs: INDUSTRIJA STAKLA — PANČEVO

Yugoslavia

(GLASS MANUFACTURER)

2) Messrs: TVORNICA ŽIGICA „DRAVA“ OSIJEK,

Pretstavništvo Sarajevska 52,

Beograd, Yugoslavia

(SAFETY MATCH MANUFACTURERS)



DALMACIJA CEMENT

EXPORT ASSOCIATION OF THE DALMATIAN WORKS AND CEMENT PRODUCTS

Exports:

CEMENT

First class cement, well known on all world markets under the brands

„DEUX LIONS” „COLOSSUS”
„SALONA TOWER” „HAMMERBRAND”
„TIGER” „TEMPLE”
„TITAN”

as well as the special POZZOLANE CEMENT
„OCEAN” brand
for submarine works (subsea works).

All our cements are complying to the BSS and ASTM international Standards and are supplied packed in strong six-ply valved natron kraft paper bags able to support the longest overseas transports.

SALONIT

Asbestos cement products

for their excellent quality a long time on many
Our Asbestos Cement products are well known markets of Europe, Africa and Asia, under the brand „SALONIT”.

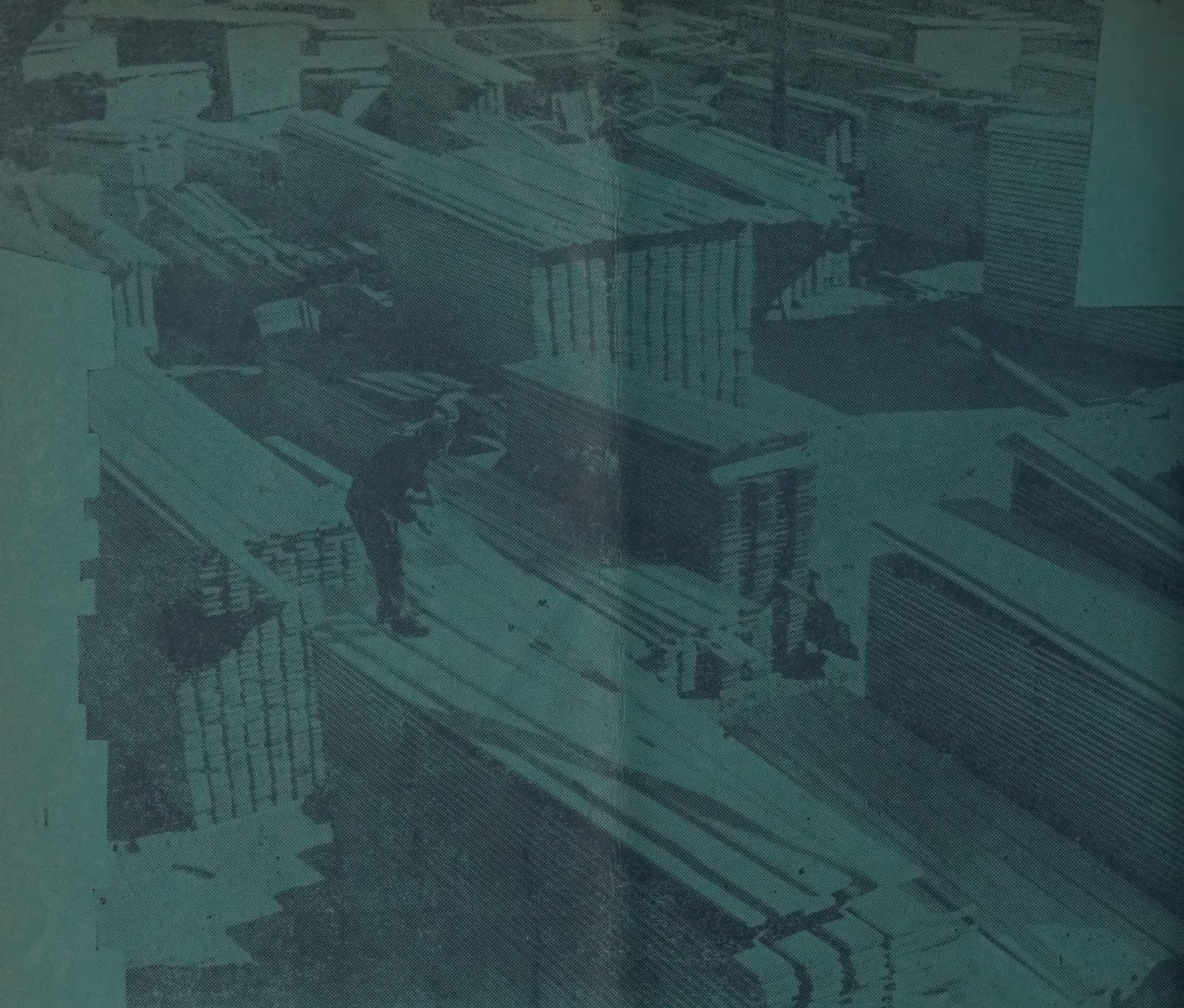
We export several (different) types of corrugated sheets, slates for roofing, flat sheets for wall protection, pressure pipes for different working pressures, soil pipes, chimney flues with fittings as well as other special pieces.

All our products are complying to the international standards as the BSS, DIN and ISO.

Please apply for informations to our address:

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cables „CEMENTEXPORT” telegrammes





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TIMBER TRADE CORPORATION

Established in 1946

BEOGRAD, TRG REPUBLIKE No. 5

Cables: Jugodrho, Beograd

Phones: 21-794, 21-795, 21-796, 21-797

Exports all kinds of timber and wood products. Offers and buys all sorts of wood on the home market. Concludes transactions with foreign dealers on behalf of producers.

Our staff is experienced in all export business and we maintain commercial contacts throughout the world

Offices at home: Zagreb, Sarajevo, Rijeka

Offices abroad: Düsseldorf, Milan, Vienna, London

Agents in: Great Britain, Italy, Holland, Greece, Turkey, Egypt, Israel



JUGODRVO